

POLITICS AND ETHICS IN ANCIENT INDIA

3701

POLITICS AND ETHICS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

POLITICS AND ETHICS IN ANCIENT INDIA

A STUDY BASED ON THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

MANORAMA JAUHARI

M. A. Ph. D.

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY.

BHARATIYA VIDYA PRAKASHAN
VARANASI

1968

Published by :

Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan,
P. Box 108, Kachauri Gali,
Varanasi—1 (India).

3701
—
25-X-68

954.01

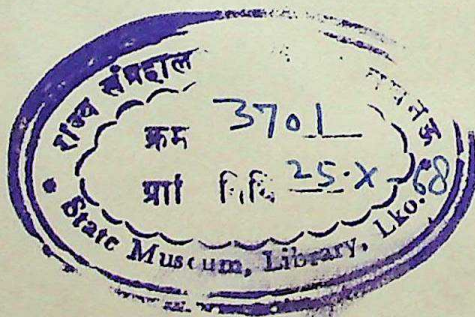
Cover by :

‘Madhur’

J P

Photo by :

Dharam Veer. &
O. P. Khaneja



Printed by :

Narendra Bhargava,
Bhargava Bhushan Press,
Varanasi.

TO
MY PARENTS
AND
PARENTS-IN-LAW

FOREWORD

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me to write a few lines by way of foreword to the present work. The author Dr. Manorama Janhari (then Manorama Varma) started this study as a Research Scholar under my guidance at the Banaras Hindu University. In ancient India Politics was basically conceived as 'Rājanīti' (the Ethics of Politics or Political Ethics). Due to varying circumstances, there occur deviations from the fundamental norms of Politics. Then, Politics becomes a matter of convenience, expedience and selfish interest. Most of the earthly ills result from this fall of Politics from its original sanctuary of Ethics. The Mahābhārata is deeply concerned with the complex situations of political life and offers solutions to the entangled problems of politics. The present work is a critical

study of this aspect of the Great Epics of India. It is highly interesting and suggestive. Not all views on politics found in the Mahābhārata are representative of its author or authors. A student of the Mahābhārata has to sift the oceanic materials in the epic and to discover the core of political ethics representative in character. Dr. Janhari has succeeded in this difficult task. I am quite sure that she has made a substantial contribution to the study of political thoughts in ancient India. This work, I earnestly hope, will be studied with respect and profit.

26. 9. 68

Raj Bala Pandey

Vice-Chancellor,
Jabalpur University,
JABALPUR.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

अ	...	...	a	च	...	...	ca	प	...	...	pa
आ	...	...	ā	छ	...	...	cha	फ	...	...	pha
इ	...	...	i	ज	...	...	ja	ब	...	...	ba
ई	...	...	ī	झ	...	...	jha	भ	...	...	bha
उ	...	...	u	ञ	...	...	ña	म	...	...	ma
ऊ	...	...	ū	ट	...	...	ṭa	य	...	...	ya
ए	...	...	e	ठ	...	...	ṭha	र	...	...	ra
ऐ	...	...	ai	ड	...	...	ḍa	ल	...	...	la
ओ	...	...	o	ढ	...	...	ḍha	व	...	...	va
औ	...	...	au	ण	...	...	ṇa	श	...	...	śa
क	...	...	ka	त	...	...	ta	ष	...	...	ṣa
ख	...	...	kha	थ	...	...	tha	स	...	...	sa
ग	...	...	ga	द	...	...	da	ह	...	...	ha
घ	...	...	gha	ध	...	...	dha	क्ष	...	...	kṣa
ङ	...	...	ṅa	न	...	...	na	त्र	...	...	tra
ज्ञ	...	...	jña	ऋ	...	...	ṛ				

— (anusvāra) ṁ | : (Visarga) ḥ | s (avagraha)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.</i>
✓ Ādi.	<i>Ādi Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
Ante.	<i>Before.</i>
Anuśāsana.	<i>Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
Arthasāstra.	<i>Arthasāstra of Kautilya.</i>
Arthasāstra Trans.	<i>Arthasāstra of Kautilya, English Translation by R. Shamasastri, fifth edition, 1956.</i>
Shamasastri.	
Āśramavāsika.	<i>Āśramavāsika Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
Āśvamedhika.	<i>Āśvamedhika Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
Bhāgavata.	<i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa.</i>
Bhīṣma.	<i>Bhīṣma Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
Brahmāṇḍa.	<i>Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.</i>
Contra.	<i>Against.</i>
Droṇa.	<i>Droṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
Ed.	<i>Edition.</i>
e. g.	<i>Exempli Græta.</i>
Gītā.	<i>Bhāgavadgītā.</i>
ff.	<i>Following.</i>
H.D.	<i>P. V. Kane's History of Dharmasāstra.</i>
✓ Ibid.	<i>The Preceding work.</i>
I.H.Q.	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly.</i>
✓ Infra.	<i>Below.</i>
✓ J.A.O.S.	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
✓ JRAS.	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
Kāmandaka.	<i>Nitisāra of Kāmandaka.</i>
Karṇa.	<i>Karṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
Mahāprasthānika.	<i>Mahāprasthānika Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
M.m.	<i>M.m. Smṛti.</i>

<i>Mansala.</i>	<i>Mausala Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
✓ <i>Mbh.</i>	<i>Mahābhārata.</i>
✓ <i>Mbh. Trans. Ray.</i>	<i>Mahābhārata, English Translation by P. C. Ray.</i>
<i>N.D.</i>	<i>Date has not been mentioned.</i>
✓ <i>Op.cit.</i>	<i>Opere Citato.</i>
✓ <i>p.</i>	<i>Page number.</i>
<i>Passim.</i>	<i>Here and there.</i>
✓ <i>pp.</i>	<i>Page numbers.</i>
<i>Rām.</i>	<i>Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki.</i>
✓ <i>Sabbā.</i>	<i>Sabbā Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
<i>Śalya.</i>	<i>Śalya Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
✓ <i>Śānti.</i>	<i>Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
<i>Saṃptika.</i>	<i>Saṃptika Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
✓ <i>SBE.</i>	<i>Sacred Books of the East.</i>
<i>SIC.</i>	<i>As actually given in the page, cited.</i>
<i>Strī.</i>	<i>Strī Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
<i>Śukra.</i>	<i>Nītisāra of Śukra.</i>
<i>Supra.</i>	<i>Above.</i>
<i>SV.</i>	<i>Sub Voce.</i>
<i>Svargārohaṇa.</i>	<i>Svargārohaṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
<i>Teste.</i>	<i>As quoted in.</i>
✓ <i>Udyoga.</i>	<i>Udyoga Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
✓ <i>Vana.</i>	<i>Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
<i>Virāṭa.</i>	<i>Virāṭa Parva of the Mahābhārata.</i>
✓ <i>Viz.</i>	<i>Videlicet.</i>
<i>Yājñvalkya.</i>	<i>Yājñvalkya Smṛti.</i>

P R E F A C E

The relation between Politics and Ethics has been a fundamental problem of all ages and has attracted the attention of thinkers—Eastern and Western; past and present. The present work needs no justification these days when the world is hankering after peace. In modern times, under the garb of civilising mission, many things have been done, which will make a moralist shudder in despair. Modern diplomacy is generally actuated by urgency, expediency, and very often, selfish motives, and inspite of its high-sounding intentions, it aims at realising self-interest at the cost of others, disregarding the dictates of morality. Under these circumstances, people have begun to realise that the most important cause of the world-wide unrest is the divorce of Politics from Ethics. Keeping in view the importance of the problem and the place of the Mahābhārata in the ancient Indian literature, it is essential to pursue this study for having an idea of the attitude of the Mahābhārata towards it.

In the 19th century several Epic studies were made and the scholars of 20th century also have realised its importance to a considerable extent. They have tried to reveal the different aspects of life, social, cultural, and political, as found in the Mahābhārata. These writers, however, do not deal with the politico-ethical aspects of the Epic. For these reasons,

my father, Late Prof. Kanhaiya Lal Verma, Head of the Department of Political Science, Banaras Hindu University, first inspired in me the desire to give a picture of the relation between Politics and Ethics in the Mahābhārata. Late Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Head of the Department of History, Banaras Hindu University, occasionally helped me by his valuable suggestions. I pay my respects to both of them.

I take this opportunity to express my gratefulness to Dr. Raj Bali Pandey, Vice-Chancellor, Jabalpur University, Jabalpur, who in the midst of his multifarious duties, has very kindly written the foreword. Others, whom I must thank, are (in alphabetical order), Dr. R. K. Dikshit, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University, Mahāmahopādhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Retired Professor of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History, Nagpur University, Dr. A. K. Narain, Senior Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, for their valuable opinions, Dr. V. N. Pathak and Dr. R. S. Misra for their occasional help, Sushri C. K. Singh, M. A., Shri Jagannath Prasad, B. Com., Shri K. K. Jhaveri, M. B. B. S. (final), and Shri C. B. M. Tripathi, B. Sc. (Hons.), M. B. B. S. (final), for preparing the Index and M/s. Bhargava Bhushan Press, Varanasi, for printing the book in time. All that I can say about my husband is that he has always been taking a keen and an active interest at every stage. Without his inspiration and encouragement, the work could never have assumed its present shape. Last but not the least, I must refer to our three year old daughter, Richa, without whose mischiefs, the work could be finished earlier still.

CONTENTS

	Pages
FOREWORD	vi-vii.
THE SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION	viii.
THE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix-x.
PREFACE	xi-xii.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND	1—30
The Problem.	1
Politics.	1
Ethics.	2
Relation between Politics and Ethics.	3
Historical Survey of the Relation between Politics and Ethics.	4
Ancient Thinkers.	4
Medieval Thinkers.	7
Modern Thinkers.	11
The Sources.	15
Assessment of the Data.	15
Contents of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> .	18
Authorship of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> .	22
Date of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> .	24

CHAPTER II

DANḌANĪTĪ (POLITICS)	31—70
Terms for Politics in Ancient India.	31
<i>Danḍanīti</i> .	31
<i>Ārthaśāstra</i> .	33
<i>Nītiśāstra</i> .	34
<i>Rājaśāstra</i> .	36

	Pages
<i>Rājanīti</i> .	36
<i>Rājadharmā</i> .	37
<i>Kṣatrayidyā</i> .	37
Origin of <i>Daṇḍanīti</i> .	38
Contents and Scope of <i>Daṇḍanīti</i> .	41
Necessity and Importance of <i>Daṇḍanīti</i> .	42
Functions of <i>Daṇḍanīti</i> .	46
Place of <i>Daṇḍanīti</i> in the Scheme of <i>Vidyās</i> (Branches of knowledge).	47
The Scheme of <i>Trivarga</i> .	50
<i>Dharma</i> .	50
<i>Artha</i> .	51
<i>Kāma</i> .	52
Ancient Indians' Attitude Towards <i>Trivarga</i> .	52
<i>Dharmaśāstric</i> Versus <i>Arthaśāstric</i> Schools of Thought.	57
Inter-relation of the Three Ends (<i>Trivarga</i>).	62
<i>Daṇḍanīti</i> in Relation to <i>Trivarga</i> .	66

CHAPTER III

<i>DHARMA (ETHICS)</i>	71—102
<i>Dharma</i> , as Interpreted by Modern Scholars.	72
Sources of <i>Dharma</i> .	75
Classification of <i>Dharma</i> .	77
<i>Sādhāraṇa Dharma</i> (Universal Moral Code).	79
<i>Viśiṣṭa Dharma</i> .	86
<i>Varṇa Dharma</i> .	86
<i>Āśrama Dharma</i> .	90
Order of these <i>Āśramas</i> .	95
<i>Guṇa Dharma</i> .	96
<i>Naimittika Dharma</i> .	96
<i>Āpaddharma</i> .	97

	Pages
<i>Yuga Dharma.</i>	98
End of Ethics.	98
Responsibility of the State Towards Social Morality.	101

CHAPTER IV

<i>STATE IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA</i>	103—25
Conception of State in the <i>Mahābhārata</i> .	103
Inter-relation of the Constituents of State.	104
State as an Organism.	105
Necessity and Importance of State : Evils of Anarchy.	106
The Origin of State.	108
The End of State.	112
State and Individual.	114
Grounds of Political Obligation.	119

CHAPTER V

<i>MONARCHY AND MORALS</i>	126—69
Types of Monarchy.	126
Necessity and Importance of a King.	129
Qualifications of a King.	132
Vices to be Shunned and avoided by a King.	138
Monarchy and Morals in Practice.	143
King and <i>Dharma</i> .	148
Duties of a King.	154

CHAPTER VI

<i>NON-MONARCHIES AND MORALS</i>	170—90
Types of Non-monarchies in the <i>Mahābhārata</i> .	171
<i>Arājaka Rājya.</i>	171
<i>Kula Rājya.</i>	173
<i>Gaṇa Rājya.</i>	173
<i>Sangha.</i>	176
Characteristics of the <i>Gaṇas</i> and the <i>Sanghas</i> .	177
Procedure, followed in the <i>Sangha</i> Meetings.	178

	Pages
✓ Officers of the <i>Gaṇas</i> and the <i>Sanṅhas</i> .	180
✓ Other Characteristic Features of the <i>Gaṇas</i> .	181
✓ Non-monarchies and Morals in Theory.	185
✓ Non-monarchies and Morals in Practice.	189

CHAPTER VII

<i>FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND MORALS</i>	191—238
Recognition of the Existence of a Number of States.	191
Conception of Inter-state Relationship.	191
Different Kinds of Relationship.	192
<i>Śāḍgunyas</i> .	192
The Four-fold Foreign Policy	199
The Conception of <i>Maṇḍala</i> and its Importance.	208
Diplomatic Agents.	214
Ambassadors.	214
Espionage.	221
Code for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs.	227

CHAPTER VIII

<i>ETHICS OF WAR I : KINDS OF FIGHTING</i>	239—62
Introduction.	239
Kinds of Fighting	242
<i>Dharma Yuddha</i> or Righteous Fighting.	246
<i>Adharma Yuddha</i> or Unrighteous Fighting.	249
Employment of Guile by the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.	258
Tit for Tat.	261

CHAPTER IX

<i>ETHICS OF WAR II : THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE CODE OF FIGHTING</i>	263—314
Some Unfair deaths in the <i>Mahābhārata</i> .	299
Death of Haima and Dīmbhaka.	299

	Page
Jarāsandha- <i>Vadha</i> .	299
Bhīṣma- <i>Vadha</i> .	301
Abhimanyu- <i>Vadha</i> .	302
Bhūriśravā- <i>Vadha</i> .	303
Jayadratha- <i>Vadha</i> .	304
Droṇācārya- <i>Vadha</i> .	306
Duḥśāsana- <i>Vadha</i> .	307
Karṇa- <i>Vadha</i> .	308
Duryodhana- <i>Vadha</i> .	309
Sauptika- <i>Vadha</i> .	311

CHAPTER X

ĀPADDHARMA (MORALITY UNDER ABNORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES)	315—47
Āpattikāla (Time of distress) for a King.	316
A King's Duties in Āpattikāla.	317
Treasury (<i>Koṣa</i>) and Taxation (<i>Kara</i>).	321
Foreign Affairs.	329
Āpaddharma for Different <i>Vaṇas</i> .	332

CHAPTER XI

RÉSUMÉ	348—58
BIBLIOGRAPHY	359—77
INDEX	378—93

CHAPTER I.

THE BACKGROUND

I. THE PROBLEM.

Politics : The word politics is derived from the Greek word ' *politique* ' which comes from ' *polis* ' meaning a city.¹ It lacks a precise and definite significance. It has been defined both as an art and a science. Some scholars distinguish between theoretical politics and applied politics and others between politics, political science and political philosophy. Underlying the above difference of opinions, there is the fundamental idea that the study of politics is concerned with the state in its theoretical as well as practical aspects. In the latter capacity it deals with the government and its relation with the people and their social units.² In this work, the word Politics has been used in the generally accepted sense given above, i. e., the study of the state in its theoretical and practical aspects. It deals also with the state as it has been in the past, as it is in the present and as it should be in the future. As

1. *Webster's Dictionary* (1953), SV. Politics, p. 1304.

2. For discussions on these problems, vide Garner : *Political Science and Government*, pp. 11-4. Bluntschilli : *Theory of State*. pp. 1-3.

remarked by Gettel, " Political Science is a historical investigation of what the state has been, an analytical study of what the state is and a politico-ethical study of what the state should be".³

Ethics : The word Ethics too has a Greek origin. It is derived from the Greek 'τα ηθικα', which is a derivative of 'ηθος' meaning character and is connected with the word 'εθος' which implies custom or habit. The term moral philosophy which is analogous to ethics is derived from the Latin word 'mores' meaning habit or customs.⁴ Originally the word Ethics was regarded as plural (τα ηθικα, the science of morals) but now it is generally used as singular, like mathematics, physics, metaphysics and politics.⁵

Ethics is a normative science and is concerned with the grounds of moral obligation. It deals with the nature, conduct, duties, habits and customs of human beings living in society. Its main concern being the object of moral judgement and the standard of morality, it investigates the principles for determining the true worth of the ultimate ends of human conduct. Hence, the general conditions that determine the rightness and wrongness of human conduct, come within the scope of Ethics.⁶ In other words, Ethics is the science of human conduct.⁷

3. Gettel : *An Introduction to Politics*, 24, 41.

4. Mckenzie : *A Manual of Ethics*, p. 1.

5. Rogers : *A Short History of Ethics*, pp. 1-2.

6. For various definitions of Ethics, vide, Rogers : op. cit., pp. 1-2; Mckenzie : op. cit., pp. 1-2; Joad : *Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics*, p. 8; William Lillie : *An Introduction to Ethics*, pp. 3-4.

7. The word conduct, according to William Lillie, is a 'collective name for voluntary actions'. Voluntary actions, in his

With the development of social life of man, the number of associations to which he belongs, has greatly multiplied. A man, these days, does not act in his individual capacity only, but also as a member of social units to which he may belong. Moral standards, therefore, are no longer confined to individual actions only but have become extensive to associations also. The actions of associations are judged as ethical or non-ethical in accordance with their conformity with accepted ethical standards. The same is the case with the state, which is one of the highest forms of human associations.

Relation between Politics and Ethics : Politics and Ethics are closely connected. It is difficult to determine what the best state is without the knowledge of the ethical standards. Politics is "the art of governing in accordance with a given purpose"⁸. In the opinion of Lord Acton, power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.⁹ Ethical standards try to prevent great men from being corrupt.

The world-wide unrest of modern times is the outcome of the divorce of Politics from Ethics, which is attributed to Machiavelli, but which modern politicians put in practice without acknowledging their debt to the Florentine. On the other hand, they condemn him in the most vehement manner. But theoretically many of them have come to realize that Politics, bereft of Ethics, can never solve the problem of world peace. Politics, divorced from Ethics,

opinion, are "those that a man can do otherwise, if he so likes. Thus, motives, desires and actions which are under the control of human beings, are included under voluntary actions and finally under Ethics". William Lillie; op. cit., pp. 3-4.

8. Hermann : *Politics and Ethics*, p. 45.

9. Teste Joad, op. cit., p. 798.

rests on the foundation of shifting sand and Ethics, divorced from Politics, becomes narrow and abstract. There is no distinction between general morality and political morality. Political actions, if against the general moral code, are unethical. Some of them hold the view that Politics is a branch of Ethics and that the former is incomplete without the latter. Dickinson has imported spiritual life in the political life. In his words, "Until the art of Politics is brought into touch with the spiritual life, it will remain what it has been, barren and fruitless, and until we connect the spiritual life with the political and political with the spiritual, both will remain paralysed".¹⁰

Historical survey of the relation between Politics and Ethics : The study of the relation between Politics and Ethics has been a fundamental problem to which the Western thinkers have applied themselves. We shall attempt a brief survey of their views under three groups—ancient, medieval and modern.

Ancient Thinkers : The ancient Greek philosophy may be said to begin with the Sophists.¹¹ They were the first to point out that man was the proper study of man. They thought that goodness or virtue was an art which could be acquired by their teachings. This was to take a very narrow view of virtue and was criticised by Socrates (B. C. 470 to 400 or 398). He pointed out that virtue was knowledge and it was a quality of the soul rather than an art. He criticised the Athenian state because it was ruled by ignorant persons. He was sentenced to death and he took the cup of poison without opposition. A brief

10. Dickinson : *Plato and his Dialogues* (Pelican series, 1950), p. 10.

11. Sophists lived in Greece in the fifth century B. C.

review of his life brings us to two conclusions, first, the identification of morality with knowledge and second, moral standards should guide the relation of the individual with the state, unless there be a spiritual mission, whose place was higher than that of the state.

In Greek philosophy, the place of Plato is unrivalled. He believed that man was social by nature and that his progress depended on society which itself ought to be virtuous. On this assumption, he imagines an ideal state in his best-known work 'The Republic', with a view to finding out virtue in an individual.

In the Platonic age, the differentiation between politics and ethics as separate branches of learning had not taken place. Plato's problem was to realise virtue. For this, he made Politics subservient to Ethics and his state, guided by moral standards was to help the individual in the realisation of the life of virtue. The state itself had a moral purpose. It could not abandon moral standards, for thereby alone it could make its citizens moral.

Aristotle (B. C. 384-322), a pupil of Plato, differed from his master fundamentally in this that whereas Plato was speculative, Aristotle was matter of fact. He gave to Politics the character of an independent science by distinguishing it from Ethics without drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation between the two. His political thought is triological being a combination of Ethics, because it aimed at virtue, Economics, because it dealt with the science of the satisfactory management of the household and Politics, which is the science of the state.

According to Aristotle man is a social and a political being. He has to live in a state for realising his highest self. The functions of the state are not merely to protect the people from enemies, prevent them from violating each other's

rights and to punish them if they do so. It is to realize the moral ends also. He regards state as a moral and spiritual entity and hence, emphasises the necessity of its membership for the attainment of the good life by an individual. Like Plato, Aristotle establishes an analogy between the state and the citizens. He believes that the state possesses the same moral qualities which are possessed by its citizens and like a citizen it follows certain ethical rules. Sometimes he deviates from this analogy by distinguishing between a good man and a good citizen. But he avoids this difference by the ultimate acceptance of the view that a good citizen would be a good man also.¹²

From the above ideas it is easy to see that Aristotle approaches and discusses the problems of the state from an ethical standpoint and like Plato his political thought is ethical in character. In their ideas political and ethical thoughts go hand in hand. To quote C. E. M. Joad, "Plato and Aristotle are both political and ethical philosophers. Their ethical theories cannot be understood independently of their political or their political theories independently of their ethical".¹³

The actual states of Greece differed greatly from the account of philosophers given above. They were neither

12. A good citizen is one, who acts in accordance with the laws of the state. A good man is one, who acts in accordance with the principles of virtue. It is likely that on occasions the laws of the state may not be in accordance with the principles of virtue. In such situations, the good man will not act in accordance with them but a good citizen will have to act in accordance with them. In the best state, however, laws will be in accordance with the principles of virtue and so there would be no distinction between a good man and a good citizen.

13. Joad, op. cit., p. 126.

ethical associations nor were guided by ethical standards. In them ignorance masqueraded as wisdom and selfishness guided the actions of statesmen and individuals. Each state was a house, divided within itself with the result that it lacked unity. The state, particularly Athens, did nothing to train its citizens in the spirit of its constitution. There was misgovernment. The Republic of Plato was conceived to remedy these defects. It was a heroic effort to meet a desperate situation. The Politics of Aristotle also was meant for the guidance of politicians and statesmen.

Medieval thinkers : The middle ages were unpolitical. Their aspirations got centred round religious questions and consequently political thought languished. When political thought made its appearance it was not to put forward a consistent theory of the state but to determine the relation between the Church and the State.

The most important event of the middle ages was the rise of Christianity which placed man's true life not in this world but in the next. According to it the good of man lay in the salvation of soul. It was to be realised not in a civic but in a heavenly society. In the preparation of the soul for salvation the state played no necessary or obvious part. Hence in theory, the state tended to drop out of the Christian scheme of things. But in practice it was a factor to be reckoned with and therefore, the ecclesiastical authority represented by the Pope and the secular authority, represented by the emperor came into conflict with each other. The thinkers of the middle ages tried to solve this conflict.

In the conflict between the Church and the State, the ecclesiastical and secular authorities were imagined as something separate from each other. This separation was first suggested by Christ himself and was later on taken up by St. Ambrose, Pope Gelasius I, St. Augustine, Hildebrand,

who later on became Pope Gregory VIII, John of Salisbury and St. Thomas Aquinas. They not only affected the separation of the Church and the State but also emphasised the superiority of the former over the latter. Their views lead us to the following conclusions :—

1. The existence of two powers, ecclesiastical and secular.

2. Ecclesiastical power was under the control of God and Christ and the secular power was under the control of Satan.

3. The ecclesiastical authority was higher than the secular authority for, it was the depository of reserved powers, which could not be explained by reason.

4. The aim of man was the attainment of salvation, which was impossible without the assistance of the Church.

5. The secular authority was to be under the guidance and supervision of the ecclesiastical authority, which was on a higher plane.

The claims of secular authority did not go undefended. Its supporters also believed in the theory of two powers. In the early stages of the conflict, they unwillingly submitted to the authority of the Church because the state did not possess the mystic and universal organisation like that of the Church and because it had no power to condemn the soul to hell by ex-communication.

With the growth of the Renaissance, which made man's mind free from the thralldom of religious faith, the situation changed. The growth of the sentiment of nationalism was an event in the same direction. Supported by these two factors, king Philip IV of France, quarrelled with Pope Boniface VIII, burned his bull in the public, asserted that before there were priests, the kings of France ruled over their kingdom and compelled his successor, Pope Clement V, to live in Avignon under his direct influence. His claims were

supported by the author of *De Utrake Potestate*¹⁴, John of Paris, Pierre Dubois, Dante and Marsiglio of Padua.

In the controversy between the Church and the State, ethics was not seriously talked of. Men's lives were guided by a universal code, whose authority none thought of questioning. It announced a series of truths, which were revealed, the revelation being of God's will as interpreted by the Catholic Church. Ethics thus was something revealed and did not present any serious problems to be pondered upon.

With Machiavelli (A. D. 1469-1527), the last of the medieval and the first of the modern political thinkers, there opens a new chapter in the history of political thought. A child of Renaissance and the product of his age, he has been read with horrible fascination for nearly four centuries and a half. He did not believe in the domination of the state by the church. While Spain, England and France had developed in the powerful nation states, his own country Italy, had remained a "mere geographical expression". This was because the Italian rulers were weak. He made the possession of power the supreme goal of personal and political strivings. His well-known work 'The Prince' is really a treatise on how to get power, how to hold on to it and how to increase it. Other qualities were desirable only in so far as they were an effective means of obtaining the desired end, namely, domination over persons and things.

According to Machiavelli, men were ungrateful and fickle. They flew from dangers and were eager for gains. Therefore, it was necessary that men were feared rather than loved. To provide first for fear and then, if possible, for love, people must learn not to be good. They must fail to keep their word when it was to their advantage to do so.

14. It cannot definitely be said who the author of this work was.

They must defeat those, who are waiting for the opportunity to defeat them. A prudent prince ought not to keep his word when the occasion for keeping it no longer existed. He should try to obtain power and to add to it by all means possible without caring for the morality or immorality of the means. According to him, the end will justify the means adopted to attain it. Thus, he set the states free from those ethical standards, which regulated the mutual relations of the people.

According to Machiavelli, the weakness of Italy was due to the Pope and the Papal state. He had little faith in religious and spiritual attainments. After death he was more desirous for fame than for salvation. He did not believe the ecclesiastical power to be higher than, and independent of, political power. The corrupt atmosphere of the Church contributed a lot to the formation of his views about religion. Machiavelli set the state free from the clutches of religion and wanted to bring the latter under the control of the former.

From the above it should not be concluded that Machiavelli was against religion and morality. He was not immoral but non-moral, not irreligious, but non-religious. He wanted religion and politics to be subservient to the interest of the state and not to be stumbling blocks in the path of the attainment of power by it.

With Machiavelli political thought breaks its connections with the past and marches on a new road.

The split between Politics and Ethics, so bluntly brought about by Machiavelli, got widened with the rise and growth of the Reformation. In protestant countries, men no longer looked to the Church to prescribe the way of life. On the other hand, they consulted the Bible or listened to the voice of conscience, thus adding to the importance of the individual.

Protestantism left the state outside its scheme of things. The ethical theories, which it inspired, come to treat of human conduct independently of politics, which was left to look after its self.

Modern thinkers : Modern age, heralded by the Renaissance and the Reformation, actually set in with the contractualist thinkers. Taking their stand on protestant individualism they imagined a pre-social state of nature and regarded society as something artificial and not natural, developing not as an integral part of man's nature, but as a device to suit his convenience. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau are the most representative thinkers of this school. The separation between Politics and Ethics, found in their writings, a place, similar to that in those of Machiavelli, with the result that Politics could be pursued independently of Ethics.

The eighteenth century has often been called the age of reason. The most important thinkers were Voltaire, Hume, Godwin, Paine and Adam Smith. They pointed out that man's real nature was that of a reasonable and reasoning being. He, therefore, did not stand in need of external rules and regulations. He was only to consult his reason and it told him what was best for him. He behaved in accordance with the voice of reason. On account of this, the coercive power of the state became unnecessary. There was no need for the state to compel those, whom reason controlled. These ideas, when developed furthest, lead to the theory of anarchism. Godwin can rightly be called the pioneer thinker of anarchism. On account of the above attitude towards the state, political questions were discussed independently of ethical questions.

The split between Politics and Ethics, which was begun by Machiavelli and which got widened on account of protestantism and contractualist and rationalist thinkers, began to

be bridged by idealist thinkers of whom Kant, Hegel and Green were the most important. Taking inspiration from the Greek philosophy, they advocated the idea of social righteousness which regulated man's relations to one another and whose fount and repository, according to Hegel, was the state. The state was necessary for the development of the individual. On account of it, he can develop his outer self to the level of his inward self. The state, thus conceived, has a personality and a will, which can be called general will. In the personality of the state, the personality of its members is included and in the general will, the best will of all. The state thus becomes a self-conscious ethical substance and a self-knowing and self actualising entity. It can never act unrepresentatively. It is a magnified form of the individual as the individual is its diminutive form. The individual is what the state makes him. He has no rights against it. It is like a deity before whom he should always bow down, for, whatever the state does, is based on social righteousness and is, therefore, for his good. In thought, therefore, the social morality and the individual morality, once more, become identical and the individual becomes a willing tool in the hands of the state, for the morality of the state is at a higher level than that of the individual. The idealist theory, thus conceived, is without reference to the existence of other states. He does not attach any importance to moral obligations towards other states. This, when developed to its fullest extent, leads to the views, similar to those of Machiavelli.

The idealist theory is a turning point in the relation between Politics and Ethics. Primarily a theory of the state, it is also a theory of individual conduct, which declares that the man's moral life is filled up by his station in that system of wholes which the state is. Fascist and Communist

HISTORICAL SURVEY

13

theories, have been to a great extent inspired by idealism. Fascism is from one point of view the idealist theory in action. Its exponents point out that it is not only a theory of the state but also an attitude towards life. It is a renaissance of the spirit of man. Communism also entails as directly as Fascism, a particular view of ethics. It insists on a particular way in which life in a modern state should be lived. Both Fascism and Communism enjoin upon citizens of the Fascist and Communist states, the duty of living their lives in that way, which contributes to the power and prestige of the state of which they are members, for, whatever the state does is in their interest and therefore, ethical.

The relation between politics on the one hand and religion and ethics on the other, has been expounded by Gandhiji in an emphatic way. His political philosophy is a corollary of his religious and ethical principles. Politics, without religion, was unthinkable to him. He was a religious man in the disguise of a politician. Says he in his Autobiography, "To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face, one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself. And a man, who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out any field of life. That is why, my devotion to truth has drawn me into the field of politics and I can say without the slightest hesitation and yet in all humility that those, who say that religion has nothing to do with politics, do not know what religion means".¹⁵ Similar are his views about ethics. The general notion about politics is that it is a negation of ethical principles. People think that taking part in politics and at the same time, keeping one's hands clean, are two contrasting things. It is believed

15. *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, 1927), Vol. II, p. 591.

that in the field of politics one cannot help telling a lie, breaking a promise, committing murders and the like. Gandhiji, whose political philosophy is mainly based on ethical considerations, wanted to ennoble politics by preaching morality in the field of politics.

The above brief survey points out that many thinkers have expressed their views about the relation between politics and ethics. These views have varied from those of Plato and Hegel on the one hand, to those of Machiavelli on the other. To Plato, a state was ethical and there was no difference between the moral standards of the individual and the state. To Hegel the state was a perfected rationality and, therefore, its actions were ethical. Since the state was individual writ large, there was no difference between the moral standards of the state and the individual except in the dealings with other states. In contrast with this, Machiavelli made a sharp distinction between individual, social and political morality and pointed out that the moral principles of the relations between individuals did not apply to the relations of the state with individuals and other states.

Besides the views of the above thinkers, expressed in general terms, the relation between politics and ethics has been the subject of special studies by western scholars.¹⁶ To the best of my knowledge, no such study has been made of the Mahābhārata. The present work is an attempt to make

-
16. Willoughby : *The Ethical Basis of State*;
 Cariat : *Ethical and Political Thinking*;
 Cariat : *Morals and Politics*;
 Benedetto Groce : *Politics and Morals*;
 Hermann : *Politics and Ethics*;
 Joad : *Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics*;
 Douglas : *Ethics in Government*;
 Bosanquet : *The Philosophical Theory of the State*.

up this deficiency. It tries to study the relation between politics and ethics in the Mahābhārata, which is a mine of information and which occupies an important place in the vast ancient Indian literature.

II. THE SOURCES.

The primary source of the present investigation is the text of the Mahābhārata. The secondary sources consist of the Bhāratabhāva-Dīpikā, Nilakaṇṭha's commentary on the Epic, different translations of, and general works on, the Mahābhārata. Some other books like the Rāmāyaṇa, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Manu Smṛti, the Kāmandaka Nītisāra, the Śukra Nītisāra¹⁷ etc. and the writings of Indian and Western scholars have also been consulted. At some places archaeological evidences, numismatic and epigraphic, have been utilized.

Assessment of the Data : The Mahābhārata is called by its authors an Itihāsa,¹⁸ a Purāṇa,¹⁹ an Ākhyāna,²⁰ a Saṁhitā,²¹ a Kāvya²² and the source and basis of all the legends.²³ It is these and even something more than these. It is the fifth Veda,²⁴ namely the Kārṣṇa Veda i. e. the Veda of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa²⁵ and the essence of other

-
17. Lallanji Gopal places this work in the 19th cent. A. D. For details vide *Modern Review*. Vol. CXIII, No. 1 to 6, Jan. to June, 1963. PP. 404—8; 473—83.
 18. *Mbh.* Ādi, I, 19, 26, 54, 87, 266-7; II, 36, 385.
 19. *Ibid.*, I, 266-7; II. 36.
 20. *Ibid.*, II, 33, 382, 384, 386, 390.
 21. *Ibid.*, I, 21, 102; Svargārohaṇa. V. 60.
 22. *Ibid.*, Ādi, I, 61, 72-3; II. 390.
 23. *Ibid.*, II, 35, 388.
 24. *Ibid.*, II, 63, 89. Vide. Mullick : *Mahābhārata—As It Was, Is And Shall Be*, p. 6. Cf. *Chāndogyaopaniṣad*, VII, 1.2.
 25. *Mbh.* Ādi, I, 268; Svargārohaṇa, V, 41.

Vedas.²⁶ By itself it is equal to, nay, even greater than, the remaining Vedas.²⁷ Hence, one should study the Vedas with its help.²⁸ One, who does not have a knowledge of this highly important work, is not a learned man even though one may be an acknowledged scholar of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.²⁹

Besides these, it is a Dharmaśāstra, an Arthaśāstra and a Kāmaśāstra.³⁰ There is much truth in Vyāsa's challenge that "That which occurs here about *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa* (the four ends of human life), occurs elsewhere and that which does not occur here, occurs nowhere else."³¹ It is really an encyclopaedia in which divergent and even contradictory ideas on religion, morals, social and economic conditions and politics are put in close juxtaposition. It removes ignorance like sun, which removes darkness.³² It is capable of liberating one from great sins, and of helping

26. Ibid., Ādi, I, 62.

27. एकतश्चतुरो वेदान् भारतं चैतदेकतः ॥
पुरा किल सुरैः सर्वैः समेत्य तुलया धृतम् ।
चतुर्भ्यः सरहस्येभ्यो वेदेभ्यो ह्यधिकं यदा ॥ Ibid., I, 271-2.

28. इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ॥
विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति । Ibid., I, 267-8.

29. यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान् सांगोपनिषदो द्विजः ।
न चाख्यानमिदं विद्यान्त्रैव स स्याद् विचक्षणः ॥ Ibid., II, 382.
See also Ibid. Svargārohaṇa, V, 45.

30. अर्थशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमिदं महत् ।
कामशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं व्यासेनामितबुद्धिना ॥ Ibid., Ādi, II, 383.

31. धर्मो चार्थो च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।
यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत्त्वचित् ॥ Ibid., LXII, 53. The same *śloka* occurs in Ibid, Svargārohaṇa. V, 50. See also Ibid., Ādi, I, 4-5.

32. Ibid., II, 84-7.

one in the attainment of long life, glory (here) and heaven (hereafter).³³

The above claims should not be taken as merely the loud boasts of Vyāsa. The merits of this "deathless poem"³⁴ have been well recognized by many modern scholars also. To Winternitz it is "in a certain sense, not one poetic production at all, but rather a whole literature".³⁵ A Macdonell calls it an "encyclopaedia of moral teaching".³⁶ R. C. Datta describes it as "an Encyclopaedia of the life and knowledge of ancient India"³⁷ and says, "No single work except the Bible has such influence in affording moral instructions in Christian lands as the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa in India".³⁸ In the words of K. M. Munshi, "it is a whole literature in itself, containing a code of life, a philosophy of social and ethical relations and speculative thought on human problems that is hard to rival..."³⁹ According to C. Rajagopalachari it is "a veritable ocean, containing countless pearls and gems. It is with the Rāmāyaṇa, a living fountain of ethics and culture of our motherland".⁴⁰ P. C. Ray describes it as "pre-eminently the encyclopaedia of the heroic age of the Hindus..."⁴¹

The Mahābhārata is equally valuable from the point of view of politics, because herein we get a comprehensive

33. Ibid., I, 269-71. See also verses 94 and 98 of the *Mahābhārata Śravaṇavīdhi*.

34. Sukthankar : *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, p. 32.

35. *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 316.

36. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (London, 1928), p. 282.

37. *The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata*, p. 332.

38. Ibid., p. 33.

39. General Editor's Preface in A. D. Pusalkar's *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas of India*, pp. VI-VII.

40. *Mahābhārata*, p. 3.

41. *Mbh. Trans. Śānti Parva* (1890), Notice, p. 2.

account of ancient Indian political thought, the highest watermark being reached in the Śānti Parva, the Rājadharmānuśāsana chapters of which present a synthetic and systematic view of the political thought of ancient Indians.

The Mahābhārata presents some difficulties also. They are caused by its numerous and different accounts and contradictory statements under different and changing circumstances. This defect, however, does not lessen the importance of the work, specially when one bears in mind the vast time factor, the changes and redactions that it has undergone in different ages resulting in the voluminous size it has attained.

Contents of the Mahābhārata : The Mahābhārata is divided into eighteen Parvas (books), namely the Ādi, the Sabhā, the Vana, the Virāṭa, the Udyoga, the Bhīṣma, the Droṇa, the Karṇa, the Śalya, the Saṃvita, the Strī, the Śānti, the Anuśāsana, the Āśvamedhika, the Āśramavāsika, the Mausala, the Mahāprasthānika and the Svargārohaṇa. These Parvas have been named after some important incidents of the main narrative of the Epic, which is connected with the Kuru dynasty and may be summarised as follows :

The first two Parvas, the Ādi and the Sabhā, inform us that Vicitravīrya, the king of Hastināpur having died, Vyāsa begot two sons with his two wives in accordance with the custom of Niyoga (levirate). The elder son Dhṛtarāṣṭra was blind since birth and hence, was passed over in favour of his younger brother Pāṇḍu, who assumed the reins of government. The former had a hundred sons, called the Kauravas, with Duryodhana as the eldest and the latter was the father of five sons, known as the Pāṇḍavas, with Yudhiṣṭhira as the eldest. At the time of the death of Pāṇḍu, Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the hundred and five cousin brothers (100 Kauravas and 5 Pāṇḍavas) was a minor. Hence, the sceptre temporarily went to the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Reaching maturity Yudhiṣ-

thira wanted to become the king, but Duryodhana would not allow him to do so. Because of his earnest desire to rule and his jealousy towards the Pāṇḍavas, Duryodhana tried his best to destroy them. They were persuaded to go to Vārāṇā-vata and to stay in the lac house (Lākṣāgrha), built with a view to be set on fire when the Pāṇḍavas, along with Kuntī, were sleeping inside so that the Pāṇḍavas would meet their end. With the help of Vidura, Yudhiṣṭhira came to know of this fraudulent plan of Duryodhana. One night when a woman and her five sons were sleeping inside the Lākṣāgrha, the Pāṇḍavas set it on fire and fled to a forest through a subterranean passage, which was attached to the Lākṣāgrha and was specially built for this purpose. Duryodhana, however, became very happy at the supposed death of the Pāṇḍavas.

After some time the Pāṇḍavas heard of the *Svayamvara* of Draupadī and went to attend it. Arjuna fulfilled the condition made for marrying Draupadī, the daughter of Drupada, the king of Pañcāla. Forced to enter the polyandrous marriage, the Pāṇḍavas married her. With the aid and backing of Drupada, their father-in-law, the Pāṇḍavas claimed the throne. This resulted in the partitioning of the kingdom. Exceedingly jealous of the growing popularity and prosperity of the Pāṇḍavas, Duryodhana devised another treacherous plan to ruin them. He invited Yudhiṣṭhira to play the game of dice with Śakuni, who was an expert in this game. The latter won all the throws and ultimately, the former was deprived of his kingdom, other possessions and even his four brothers and wife, who was insulted by the winners. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, however, pacified Draupadī and asked her to wish for something. Draupadī demanded the release of her husbands. Her wish was granted. Dhṛtarāṣṭra returned to Yudhiṣṭhira his lost kingdom and the Pāṇḍavas,

accompanied by Draupadī, proceeded towards their capital, Indraprastha.

After the departure of the Pāṇḍavas, Duryodhana and his well-wishers persuaded Dhṛtarāṣṭra to invite Yudhiṣṭhira to play the game of dice for a second time. This was done and Yudhiṣṭhira came back to Hastināpura. Before the beginning of the game, it was said that the defeated party would live in the forest for twelve years and would spend the thirteenth year incognito (*ajñātavāsa*). This time also, Yudhiṣṭhira was the loser and hence he went to the forest along with Draupadī and his four brothers.

The Vana Parva describes their life in different forests. It contains discourses of Dhaumya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Lomaśa and Arṣiṣeṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira, and many discussions on the moral virtues. Two famous episodes, the Nalopākhyāna and the Rāmopākhyāna, occur in this Parva.

The Virāṭa Parva tells us about the *Ajñātavāsa* (exile incognito) of the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī in the kingdom of king Virāṭa. It informs us that Yudhiṣṭhira disguised himself as the companion and counsellor of Virāṭa, Bhīma as a cook, Arjuna as a dance-master, Nakula as a horse-tamer, Sahadeva as an overseer of cattle and Draupadī as a *sairandhrī* (the chamber-aid) of the queen of Virāṭa.

From the Udyoga Parva we come to know that after the expiry of the thirteen years of banishment, Yudhiṣṭhira once more claimed the kingdom, but Duryodhana refused to give even an inch thereof to him. All attempts at negotiations proved futile and ultimately war was declared. Both the parties, that of the Kauravas and that of the Pāṇḍavas, began making preparations for the war.

The next four Parvas, namely, the Bhīṣma, the Droṇa, the Karṇa and the Śalya have been devoted to a detailed description of the sanguinary War of Kurukṣetra, which

resulted in the entire anihilation of the Kaurava host, with the exception of three survivors, namely, Aśvatthāmā, Kṛpācārya and Kṛtavarmā, who slaughtered the sleeping persons, to avenge the fall of Duryodhana in the Sauptika Parva. The Strī Parva has been devoted to the *vilāpa* (lament) of the ladies, who lost their near and dear ones in the War of Kurukṣetra. This is followed by a description of the performance of the funeral rites, viz. *dāha* and *śrāddha* of the deceased warriors.

Then comes the Śānti Parva, which comprises a sixth part of the total extent of the Mahābhārata and which is divided into three sections, namely, Rājadharmānuśāsana, Mokṣadharma and Āpaddharma. The first of these deals with politics, the second with ethics, and the third with *Dharma* in times of distress.

The Anuśāsana Parva and the Āśvamedhika Parva deal with ethical problems and Yudhiṣṭhira's horse-sacrifice (*Āśvamedha Yajña*) respectively. The Āśramavāsika Parva deals with Dhṛtarāṣṭra's departure to the forest as a hermit. The Mausala Parva gives an account of the destruction of the Yādavas with the *mūsala* (pestle) in accordance with the curse of Vālmīki. The Mahāprasthānika Parva informs us that after ruling for thirtysix years, Yudhiṣṭhira entrusted the charge of his kingdom to Parīkṣita, the grandson of Arjuna, and proceeded to heaven in the company of his four brothers, wife and a dog (Dharmarāja in disguise). As is indicated by its name Svargārohaṇa, the eighteenth and the last Parva, describes the attainment of Svarga (heaven) by the leading characters of the Great Epic.

Besides this main narrative, the Mahābhārata contains many episodes, dialogues and discourses,⁴² which in fact

42. "The principal story constitutes not quite one half of the eighteen books of the Mahābhārata. (The eighteen parvas...

make it a mine of information. Taken together, they are highly valuable for getting an insight into the different phases of India's ancient culture.

Authorship of the Mahābhārata : It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata that Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa was its author⁴³ and on the basis of Kṛṣṇa, which forms a part of the name of its supposed author, it is called the Kārṣṇa Veda,⁴⁴ the Veda of Kṛṣṇa. According to the Ādi Parva, Vyāsa completed this work, after working hard for three years.⁴⁵ But there is no doubt that the Mahābhārata in its present form is the epic of growth and is not the product of one author or one age. Life in all its phases was the concern of the ancient Indians, who never lost sight of the good of society. According to them, a true history was nothing short of a majestic show room, wherein all facets of life could be seen. Hence, they were never tired of discussing divergent and even contradictory topics in, and of making additions to, this Epic. The Mahābhārata has undergone many redactions. On the basis of internal evidence, we know,

contain 2,109 adhyāyas...of these about 1,000 deal with the principal narrative). The other half consists of those parts of the work, partly narrative and partly didactic, which have no bearing or only a very slight one, on the conflict of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas". M. Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I. p. 375.

43. *Mbh.* Ādi, I, 10; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 3 ff. (Southern Recension, G. P. Ed.); I, 61; Śānti, CCCXLIX, 9-11; Svargārohaṇa, V, 36-9, 53-5.

It is noteworthy in this connection that Vyāsa is regarded as the compiler of the Vedas and the author of the Purāṇas.

44. *Ibid.*, Ādi, I, 268; Svargārohaṇa, V, 41.

45. त्रिभिर्वर्षैः स्फोटयामी कृष्णद्वैपायनो मुनिः ।

महाभारतमाख्यानं कृतवानिदमद्भुतम् ॥ *Ibid.*, V, 48.

with a certain degree of certainty, about its three composers, viz. Vyāsa, Vaiśampāyana and Sauti. The first began it with salutation to Nara, Nārāyaṇa and Sarasvatī, the second with the 'Sarpasatra' i. e. the beginning of the Āstika Parva and the third with the Amśāvatarāṇa Parva, whence starts the actual narrative of the Bhārata race.⁴⁶ Most probably the Epic, in its first stage, was known as 'Jaya' i. e. victory (of the Pāṇḍavas). This is corroborated by the fact that the Mahābhārata calls itself the "Itihāsa, named Jaya",⁴⁷ and that in the invocatory verse, which occurs in the beginning of every Parva, it has been called Jaya.⁴⁸ In the second stage it was entitled Bhārata and it aimed at giving a more detailed account of the Bhārata dynasty.⁴⁹ Finally, after its increase in bulk and value, it was known as the Mahābhārata.⁵⁰ This conjecture is supported by the Āśvalāyana

46. "...the poem was recited on three different occasions; the first time by Vyāsa in the presence of his pupils; the second time by the Brāhman Vaiśampāyana, Vyāsa's pupil, during a solemn sacrifice offered in the name of Janamejaya; the third time by the Sūta Ugrasravas during a sacrifice celebrated by the rishi Śaunaka, a generation later".
Held: *The Mahābhārata—an Ethnological Study*, Introduction, p. 3.

Gf. मन्वादि भारतं केचिदास्तीकादि तथापरे ।

तथोपरिचराद्यन्ये विप्राः सम्यगधीयते ॥ *Mbh.* Ādi, I, 52.

47. 'जय' नामेतिहासोऽयम् । *Ibid.*, Svargārohaṇa, V, 51. See also *Ibid.*, V, 49.

48. नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

49. भारतानां महज्जन्म तस्माद् भारतमुच्यते । *Ibid.*, (G. P. Ed.) Svargārohaṇa, V, 45.

50. महत्वाद्भारवत्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते । *Ibid.*, Ādi, I, 274. The same *śloka* occurs in *Ibid.*, Svargārohaṇa, V, 45. According to Pāṇini (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 2, 56) Bhārata means Bhārataḥ Saṅgrāmaḥ, i. e. the battle of the Bhāratas. Hence Mahābhārata means the Great Battle of the Bhāratas.

Gr̥hya Sūtra which refers to the Bhārata and Mahābhārata both.⁵¹ The Mahābhārata also calls itself by three names, viz. Jaya, Bhārata and Mahābhārata.⁵²

Date of the Mahābhārata : The problem of the date of the Mahābhārata, which has given rise to a heated controversy among scholars, can be viewed from two stand-points, (i) the date of the event, i. e. the War of Kurukṣetra and (ii) the date of the composition of the Mahābhārata. The latter aspect is closely connected with the question of its authorship. Since "there was no one author of the Great Epic"⁵³ in its present form, as we have already stated, no particular and exact date can be assigned to it.

N. Jagannatha Rao thinks that the War of Kurukṣetra was fought in 3139 B. C.⁵⁴ On the basis of astronomy, K. V. Abhyankar places the Great War in Circa 3000 B. C.⁵⁵ Similar is the view of C. V. Vaidya⁵⁶ and P. V. Kane.⁵⁷ 3101 B. C. is the year from which the Kali Age is believed to have set in and according to the Mahābhārata, the War of

51. सुमन्तुजैमिनीवैशम्पायनपैलसूत्रभाष्यभारतमहाभारतधर्माचार्या जानन्ति ... ।
Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra, III, 4, 4.

52. *Mbh.* Ādi, I, 19, 77 ; II, 33, 38, 41, 380, 392-5 ; LXII, 50-52.

53. E. W. Hopkins : *The Great Epic of India*. p. 58.

54. *The Age of the Mahābhārata War* (Bezwada, 1931), Passim.

55. The Date and Time of the Bhārata War : A New Approach on Astronomical considerations, *ABORI*, 1944, Vol. XXV, pp. 116-36.

56. *Epic India*, Preface, p. V. According to C. V. Vaidya, "The Epic period...extends roughly speaking from 3000 B. C. to 300 B. C. As the Mahābhārata War was...fought in 3101 B. C. the original Bhārata being composed not very long after that and the Mahābhārata was last recast about 250 B. C. at least unquestionably after Megasthenes and before Aśoka.

57. *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. III, pp. 896 and 923.

Kurukṣetra was fought in the end of the Dvāpara Age and the beginning of the Kālī Age.⁵⁸ P. C. Sengupta assigns 2449 B. C. to the event.⁵⁹ Basing his investigation on the astronomical data, J. S. Karandikar suggests 1931 B. C. as the date of the War.⁶⁰ According to K. P. Jayaswal, it took place in 1424 B. C.,⁶¹ whereas R. C. Datta assigns the thirteenth or the fourteenth century B. C. to the event.⁶² N. K. Siddhanta attempts to solve the problem in three ways.⁶³ On the basis of the gap between the birth of Parīkṣita and the coronation of Mahāpadmananda, the founder of Nanda dynasty, which was 1050 and 1015 years according to the Matsya Purāṇa⁶⁴ and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa⁶⁵ respectively, he regards 1472 B. C. and 1437 B. C. as the date of the birth of Parīkṣita, who was born immediately after the War of Kurukṣetra. Utilizing the genealogical lists

58. अन्तरे चैव सम्प्राप्ते कलिद्विपरयोरभूत् ।

समन्तपंचके युद्धं कुरूपाण्डवसेनयोः ॥

Mbh. Adi, II, 13.

59. Some Astronomical References from the Mahābhārata and their Significance, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1937, Vol. III, pp. 101-19, and Bhārata Battle Traditions, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1938, Vol. IV, pp. 393-413.

60. *Proceedings and Transaction of All India Oriental Conference*, Twelfth session, Benaras Hindu University, 1943-4, p. 479. According to him "the exact *tithi* (date) of the commencement of the war is Mārgaśīrṣa, Śukla, 11 and the *tithi* on which the war ended is Mārgaśīrṣa, Kṛṣṇa, 14.

61. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. III, pp. 246-62. See also Jayaswal's article on the Br̥hadratha Chronology (Circa, 1727-727 B. C.) in *Ibid.* Vol. IV, pp. 26-36.

62. *The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata*, pp. 169 and 323.

63. *The Heroic Age of India*, pp. 33-42.

64. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 272, 36.

65. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 24, 32.

given in the Purāṇas, he places the War of Kurukṣetra in the eleventh century B. C. and by identifying the Janamejaya of the Brāhmaṇas with that of the Mahābhārata he expects to be "not very far away from what we have arrived at from other considerations".⁶⁶ K. G. Sankara's conclusion is that the War took place in 1183 B. C.,⁶⁷ whereas K. L. Daftari is in favour of 1197 B. C. as its date.⁶⁸ On the basis of the lists of the successors of the Pāṇḍavas, given in the Purāṇas and the probable length of reigns computed from the date of some historical dynasties, Pargiter places the War of Kurukṣetra in 950 B. C.⁶⁹

The same difference of opinion is there about the composition of the Epic. Regarding the period which the Epic covers, A. Macdonell⁷⁰ and R. C. Majumdar⁷¹ opine that the Mahābhārata, very much in its present shape, existed in about 350 A. D. Bühler, however, places it between 300-500 A. D.⁷² In the words of E. W. Hopkins, "As a whole the poem dates from about the 2nd Century B. C. extending to the 2nd century A. D. or with the margin allowed by some scholars, its period extends from 400 B.C. to 400 A.D., this representing the centuries during which the whole poem was developed into its present shape."⁷³

66. *The Heroic Age of India*, p. 42.

67. Some Problems of Indian Chronology. *ABORI*, Vol. XII, pp. 301-61.

68. Date of the Mahābhārata War, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 481-9.

69. *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 179-83.

70. *History of Sanskrit Literature*. (Motilal Banarasidas, 1965), p. 241

71. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Introduction, P. IV.

72. *Contributions to the History of the Mahābhārata*, Teste A. K. Dass : *The Economic History of Ancient India*, Preface, pp. III-IV.

73. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings, Vol. VIII, p. 325, See also Hopkins : *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 397 ff.

After making a comparative study of the geography of the Buddhist Mahāvagga with that of the Mahābhārata, S. Levi concludes that the latter received its final redaction in the first three or four centuries A. D.⁷⁴ To quote S. Paramavitana, "This epic may not have existed in its present form in the time of Aśoka but it is not impossible that the kernel of the epic is as old as, or older than, 3rd century B. C. At any rate, the story of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas must have been current in India in Aśoka's age or even earlier".⁷⁵

It is clear from the above account that the date of the "dateless"⁷⁶ Mahābhārata is shrouded in mystery. The different views about it range between 3139 B. C. to 400 A. D. Examining the accuracy of these views is just another matter and it is hardly necessary for the purpose of the present work. Our concern is only with the Mahābhārata, as it exists now and with the relation between politics and ethics as has been depicted therein. But, for practical purposes, we can agree with M. Winternitz, who has suggested that it covers a period ranging from the 4th cent. B. C. to 4th cent. A. D.⁷⁷

According to him, the Mahābhārata is not earlier than 400 B.C. because—

1. The Vedas are silent about the War of Kurukṣetra.
2. The Vedic literature does not mention it.
3. The leading characters of the Mahābhārata are not mentioned in the Veda, although references to some of them are present in the works, belonging to Yajurveda.

74. Teste M. Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 465.

75. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixteenth All India Oriental Conference*, p. 227, f. n. 1.

76. Sukthankar : *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, p. 32.

77. Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature* Vol. I, pp. 454—75.

4. The earliest work, which refers to the Kurukṣetra War is the Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra. The Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra mentions Bhārata and Mahābhārata in the list of sacred teachers and books. Pāṇini mentions the Mahābhārata and Patañjali refers to the battle between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.

5. The Pāli canon of the Buddhists (3rd, 4th centuries B.C.) betrays only "quite a superficial knowledge of the Mahābhārata. It was probably at that time still little known in the east of India, where Buddhist literature originated."⁷⁸

The following arguments have been given to support the view that in about 400 A.D. the Mahābhārata was not much different from what it is to-day.

1. A Cambodian inscription informs us about the public readings of the Mahābhārata in about 600 A.D., indicating thereby that it must have taken one or two preceding centuries for being regarded as a religious text book and discourse.

2. Many passages, pertaining to *dānadharma* (injunctions regarding donations) are to be found in the deeds of the land grants, belonging to 5th and 6th centuries A.D. and one of these inscriptions⁷⁹ refers to it as a collection of one hundred thousand verses. This number is approached only by including the Harivaṁśa.

3. Kumārila (700 A.D.) quotes from the different sections of the "great *smṛti*, expounded by Vyāsa."

4. Subandhu and Bāṇa (about 600-650 A.D.) were familiar with the Mahābhārata. The latter, in Kādambarī,

78. Ibid., p. 473. See also p. 324.

79. शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वेदव्यासेनोक्तम् । teste Baldeva Upadhyaya, *Sam-
skṛta Sāhitya Ka Itihāsa* (Śārada Mandir, Varanasi, 1953), p. 95.

refers to the recitation of the Mahābhārata, attended by queen Vilāsavatī, in a temple at Ujjain.

That the Mahābhārata is not the work of one author and hence, not of one time is justified by the internal evidences, presented by the Epic itself.

1. There are innumerable contradictions, e. g. the actions of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. The former represent *Dharma*, although their actions are not in accordance with the moral code. This is so, probably because the bards, originally associated with the Kauravas (the ruling party) were later on associated with the Pāṇḍavas (the victorious side). After this, they sang the praises of the Pāṇḍavas in addition to that of the Kauravas, which, it was not possible for them to eradicate.⁸⁰

2. The problem of Kṛṣṇa can be considered next. Kṛṣṇa, the friend and adviser of the Pāṇḍavas is the instigator of deceit. He always suggested some or the other treacherous plans for defeating the Kauravas. This Kṛṣṇa is totally different from Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, glorified here and there in the Epic, and more particularly in the Hari-vamśa. It seems likely that there were more than one traditional Kṛṣṇas, who were merged into one, later on. Kṛṣṇa was associated with the Pāṇḍavas afterwards, "perhaps with the express intention of justifying the actions of the Pāṇḍavas, which were shady from the moral point of view."⁸¹

80. It is generally believed that there was a long gap between the date of the event and that of the composition. Under these circumstances, it does not seem to be in the fitness of things to regard the bards, as responsible for these contradictions. They had nothing to do with the composition. When the Epic was in process, they must have become a matter of the past.

81. Ibid., p, 457.

3. In the different sections of the Mahābhārata there is no uniformity of language, style and metre. The table of contents, given in the beginning also is not in agreement with the text. This cannot be explained as the "ingenious carelessness"⁸² of any one author.

Thus, it is clear that the Mahābhārata has not always been what it is to-day. "One date of the Mahābhārata does not exist at all, but the date of every part must be determined on its own account."⁸³ Regarding it as the work of a single author would lead us to the conclusion that "this man was, at one and the same time, a great poet, and a wretched scribbler, a sage and an idiot, a talented artist and a ridiculous pedant—apart from the fact that this marvellous person must have known and confessed the most antagonistic religious views, and the most contradictory philosophical doctrines."⁸⁴

82. Ibid., p. 458.

83. Ibid., p. 475. See also p. 321.

84. Ibid., pp.^c 460—61. See also p. 325.

CHAPTER II

DANḌANĪTI (POLITICS)

Terms for Politics in Ancient India : Daṇḍanīti, Arthaśāstra, Nītiśāstra or Nīti, Rājanīti, Rājadharmā, Rājaśāstra and Kṣatradīyā were used to denote what we call politics to-day. We shall take up these terms one by one.

Daṇḍanīti, the most commonly used term, occurs frequently in the Mahābhārata,¹ the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya,² the Manu Smṛti,³ the Purāṇas⁴ and the later works like the Kāmandaka Nītiśāra⁵ and the Śukra Nītiśāra.⁶ The Mahābhārata defines *Daṇḍanīti* in these words, "Because men are led (to the acquisition of the objects of their existence) by chastisement, or again chastisement leads or governs everything, therefore, this science is known in three worlds

1. *Mbh.* Vana, CCVII, 24; Udyoga, CXXXII, 14-5; Śānti, XXIV, p. 4474 (Southern Recension—G. P. Ed.); LXV, 27; CXXI, 23-4; CXXII, 25.

2. Bk. I, Chap. 2, 1-6; Bk. I, Chap. 4.

3. VII, 43.

4. *Agni Purāṇa*, 225, 21; 238, 8, 9; 239, 12, 16; 241, 17.
Matsya Purāṇa, 215, 53.

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, 2, 71, 13.

5. *Kāmandaka*, II, 1-5, 7-9, 15, 44.

6. I, 151 and 156.

as *Danḍanīti* (Science of chastisement).”⁷ Kauṭilya expresses his opinion by saying “*Danḍa* is a means for the progress of *Ānwīkṣikī* (Philosophy), *Trayī* (The three Vedas) and *Vārtā* (Economics). The way to realise these is *Danḍanīti*.”⁸ Kāmandaka says, “Restraint (*damah*) is known as *Danḍa*; *Danḍa* is the king, since it resides in him, the direction (*nīti*) of *Danḍa* is *Danḍanīti*. *Nīti* is so called because it directs.”⁹ Śukra gives an exactly identical explanation of the term.¹⁰ *Danḍanīti* treats of the various modes of policy (*Nayānayan*).¹¹

Literally the word *Danḍanīti* means the policy (*nīti*) of punishment or coercion (*danḍa*). But it is a narrow meaning of the word. Its scope and contents show that it deals with all the aspects of state and government and not only with coercion. The term has been variously interpreted and translated by modern scholars. To Dr. Beni Prasad, it is “the science of government”¹² and to Dikshitar, “the science of Hindu administration dealing best with the func-

7. दण्डेन नीयते चेदं दण्डं नयति वा पुनः ।

दण्डनीतिरिति ख्याता त्रीलोकानभिवर्तते ॥

—*Mbh. Śānti*, LIX, 78. Commenting on this verse, Nilakaṇṭha explains *Danḍanīti* as the “*Pālana-Vidyā*” (i. e. the Science of Maintenance).

8. आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीवार्तानां योगक्षेमसाधनो दण्डः । तस्य नीतिः दण्डनीतिः ॥

Arthaśāstra (Ed. G. P. Sastri), Bk. I, Chap. 4.

9. दमो दण्ड इति ख्यातः तात्स्थ्यात् दण्डो महीपतिः ।

तस्य नीतिः दण्डनीतिः नयनान्नीतिरुच्यते ॥ II, 15.

10. दमो दण्ड इति ख्यातः तस्माद्दण्डो महीपतिः ।

तस्य नीतिः दण्डनीतिः नयनान्नीतिरुच्यते ॥ I, 156.

11. नयापनयौ दण्डनीत्याम् । *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, chap. 2.

दण्डनीतौ नयानयौ । *Kāmandaka*, II, 7.

अर्थानर्थौ तु वार्तयां दण्डनीत्यां नयानयौ ॥ *Agni Purāṇa*, 238, 8, 9.

अर्थानर्थौ तु वार्तयां दण्डनीत्यां नयानयौ ॥ *Śukra*, I, 153.

12. *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, p. 21.

tions of the government and the machinery of government.”¹³ In the *Purāṇa Index*, however, Dikshitar explains the term as the “Science of Politics.”¹⁴ Jayaswal is of the opinion that *Daṇḍanīti* stands for “the Ethics of the Executive.”¹⁵ Ghoshal does not agree with Jayaswal and criticises him. He renders *Daṇḍanīti* as the “art of government.”¹⁶ Anjaria agrees with Beni Prasad in calling it “the science of government.”¹⁷ To C. V. Vaidya, *Daṇḍanīti* stands for “the rules of government,”¹⁸ whereas P. C. Ray translates the word as “the science of chastisement”¹⁹ and at another place, renders it as the “penal code.”²⁰ Shamasastri, however, interprets *Daṇḍanīti* as “the law of punishment or the science of government.”²¹

Arthaśāstra is another term, used to denote politics in the *Mahābhārata*.²² Peculiarly enough, in the *Anuśāsana Parva*, Yudhiṣṭhira says to Bhīṣma that the *Arthaśāstras*, composed by Bṛhaspati and others are the essence of the intellect of the ladies.²³ He holds this bitter opinion probably because in the said *Parva*, he is censuring the women-

13. *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 1.

14. *Purāṇa Index*, Vol. II, p. 61.

15. *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Vol. XV, p. 275. Teste Dikshitar, op. cit. p. 5.

16. *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 78.

17. *Nature and Ground of Political Obligation in Hindu State*, p. 59.

18. *Epic India*, p. 197.

19. *Mbh. Trans. Ray*, Vol. VII, p. 283.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 416.

21. *Arthaśāstra*, Trans. Shamasastri (5th ed., 1956), p. 8.

22. *Mbh. Sabhā*, XLIX, p. 853. (Southern Recension, G. P. Ed.).

See also *Ibid.*, Ādi, CXL, 2.

23. स्त्रीणाम् बुद्ध्यर्थनिष्कर्षार्थशास्त्राणि शत्रुहन् ॥

बृहस्पतिप्रभृतिर्मन्ये सद्भिः कृतानि वै ।

Mbh. Anuśāsana, XXXIX, 10-11.

folk, who, in his opinion, are cunning by nature. Does it mean that in the opinion of Yudhiṣṭhira cunningness had an important place in the *Arthaśāstra*? Nīlakaṇṭha explains it as the science of deceit (*Vaṇṇanā Śāstra*).²⁴

Arthaśāstra has been explained by Kautīlya as follows : "The subsistence of mankind is termed *artha*, wealth; the earth which contains mankind is termed *artha*, wealth; that science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth is the *Arthaśāstra*, Science of Polity."²⁵ It aims at the realisation of *Trivarga* (threefold end of human life, viz. *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*) and helps one in this *loka* and also in the *loka*, hereafter.²⁶ Śukra defines *Arthaśāstra* as that, which deals with the king's conduct of administration (*Rāja-Vṛtti*) in accordance with the Vedas and the Dharmaśāstras (*Śruti* and *Smṛti*) and which gives the rules for earning wealth righteously.²⁷ This shows that to him the place of the latter was higher than that of the former. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, *Arthaśāstra* finds a place in the list of eighteen *vidyās* (sciences)²⁸.

Nītiśāstra literally means the science of *nīti*. *Nīti* has been used in the Mahābhārata²⁹ as well as in the other an-

24. स्त्रीबुद्धिमनुसृत्य बृहस्पत्यादिभिर्वञ्चनाशास्त्रं प्रवर्तितव्यमित्युक्तिः ।

एताः पूजिता धिक्कृता वा तुल्यवद्विकारं जनयन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

25. मनुष्याणां वृत्तिरर्थः । मनुष्यवती भूमिरित्यर्थः ॥ तस्याः

पृथिव्याः लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति ॥

Bk. XV, Ch. I, 1-3, p. 667. R. Shamasastri's rendering adopted.

26. धर्ममर्थं च कामं च प्रवर्तयति पाति च । Ibid., Bk. XV, 79.

27. IV, 296-7.

धर्मशास्त्राविरोधेन ह्यर्थशास्त्रं विचारयेत् । Ibid., IV, 785.

28. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, III, 6, 28—9.

29. Mbh. Ādi, CXL, 26; CXLV, 21; CLVI, 5; Sabhā, XIX, 26; Udyoga, VI, 19; Virāṭa, XXVIII, 9.

cient Indian works³⁰ sometimes in the sense of policy and sometimes in that of moral philosophy. *Yuddha-nīti* (the policy of war) is an illustration of its former meaning and *Vidura-Nīti* (Ethical discourses of Vidura) is that of the latter. Accordingly in the *Mahābhārata*, *Nītisāstra* stands both for politics as well as ethics. The word *naya* has been used as a synonym of *nīti*³¹ and in the *Pañcatantra*, *Nayaśāstra* stands for politics.³² In the days of Kāmandaka, *Nīti* came to mean politics. That is why Kāmandaka and Śukra have entitled their treatises on polity as *Nītisāra*. B. K. Sarkar has interpreted this term as "State-craft."³³

Sorenson and Monier Williams have interpreted the word *Nītisāstra*, respectively as the "treatise on political ethics"³⁴ and "the science of, or a work on, political ethics or morals."³⁵ Dikshitar explains it in a better way by saying that "The term *Nītisāstra*, which was the title given to books on Ancient Indian Polity, shows that though the subjects treated in them were secular, still they had their basis in religion. In fact, religion governed the actual life of every person from birth to death."³⁶

30. *Rām*. (Nirṇaya Sāgar Press) *Yuddha*, XII, 32.

cf. *Agni Purāṇa*, 243, 1.

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, 2, 6, 2.

31. बृहस्पत्युक्तैः प्रोक्तैः नयैर्धर्यन्ति मानवा ॥ *Mbh. Vana*, CL, 29.

cf. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. VI, Chap. 2, 11-3. *Kāmandaka*, I, 19.

32. नयशास्त्रकर्तृभ्यः । *Pañcatantra*, Chap. I,

Teste Jayaswal : *Hindu Polity*, p. 6, f. n. 3.

33. The Theory of Constitution in Hindu Political Philosophy : A Comparative Study, *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Pt., II. p. 499.

34. *Mahābhārata Index*, p. 520.

35. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, SV. *Nītisāstra*.

36. *War in Ancient India*, p. 58.

In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* the teacher of Prahlāda went to his father, Hiranyaśipu and mentioned *Nītiśāstra* in the list of the subjects, he had taught to the boy, Prahlāda.³⁷ Śukra uses this word to denote politics, and stresses its importance by saying that it leads to the realization of *Trivarga* (the triple ends of life, consisting of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*) and ultimately to *Mokṣa* (salvation)³⁸. It is important for everybody in general and for a king in particular, because a king having its knowledge achieves success, defeats his enemies, rules properly and earns glory.³⁹

Rājaśāstra means the *śāstra* (science) of kings, which is the same as *Danḍanīti*. That *Rājaśāstra* was an ancient Indian term for politics⁴⁰ is known from the *Śānti Parva*, wherein Bhīṣma refers to the ancient Indian political thinkers and calls them '*Rājaśāstrapraṇetā*',⁴¹ i.e., the composers of *Rājaśāstra*. Jayaswal interprets the word as the "code for the Rulers."⁴²

Rājanīti has been explained in two ways, the policy (*nīti*) of the king (*Rājā*) and the policy which pleases (the people), because *Rājā* is derived from the root *rañj*, to please.⁴³ The *Mahābhārata* uses it in the sense of politics. Thus, in

37. गृहीतनीतिशास्त्रस्ते पुत्रो दैत्यपते कृतः । *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 19, 28.

38. सर्वोपजीवकं लोकस्थितिकृत्रीतिशास्त्रकम् ।

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां स्मृतं मोक्षप्रदं यतः ॥ *Śukra*, I, 5.

39. सर्वाभीष्टकरं नीतिशास्त्रं स्यात्सर्वसंमतम् ।

अत्यावश्यं नृपस्यापि स सर्वेषां प्रभुर्यतः ॥ *Ibid.*, I, 12.

कथितं तु समासेन सामान्यं नृपराष्ट्रयोः ॥

नीतिशास्त्रं हितायालं यद्विशिष्टं नृपे स्मृतम् ॥ *Ibid.*, III, 313.

40. *Mbh.* Ādi, CXL, 2.

41. *Ibid.*, Śānti, LVIII, 2-3.

42. *Hindu Polity*, p. 5.

43. रंजिताश्च प्रजास्सर्वास्तेन राजेति शब्दयते ।

Mbh. Śānti, LIX, 125.

the Śānti Parva, Bhīṣma is said to have a thorough knowledge of *Rājānīti*.⁴⁴ B. K. Sarkar translates it as "State-craft".⁴⁵

Rājadharmā is used in the Mahābhārata in two meanings, the royal duties⁴⁶ and politics. Its latter sense is confirmed by the fact that one whole section of the Śānti Parva, dealing with the rules, relating specifically to the art of government, is known as the *Rājadharmānūsāsana Parva*. Therein it has been regarded as the most important science and as the refuge of all other branches of knowledge (*vidyās*).⁴⁷ If strictly followed by the rulers it leads to prosperity and well-being of the ruled.⁴⁸ Sometimes *Rājadharmā* has been called *Kṣātradharmā* in the Mahābhārata⁴⁹ because *Kṣatriyas* were the ruling class.

Kṣātra-vidyā—The earliest reference to it can be traced back to the Chāndogyaopaniṣad which thrice refers to this term. At one place, it is said that once Nārada approached Sanatkumāra for being taught by him. The latter asked the former the subjects which he knew. In reply, Nārada gave a

44. Ibid., XXXVII, 9. See also, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 10, 45, 35.

45. The Theory of the Constitution in Hindu Political Philosophy : A Comparative Study, *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee* Vols. Pt. II, p. 499.

46. अश्रौषीस्त्वं राजधर्मान् यथा वै मनुरब्रवीत् । *Mbb.* Vana, XXXV, 21.

47. सर्वे त्यागा राजधर्मेषु दृष्टाः सर्वा दीक्षा राजधर्मेषु चोक्ताः ।
सर्वा विद्या राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः सर्वे लोका राजधर्मे प्रविष्टाः ॥
Ibid., LXIII, 29. See also *ibid.*, LXIV, 7, 21-8.

48. पुत्रवत् पाल्यमानानि राजधर्मेण पार्थिवैः ।
लोके भूतानि सर्वाणि चरन्ते नात्र संशयः ॥
सर्वधर्मपरं क्षात्रं लोकश्रेष्ठं सनातनम् ।
शश्वदक्षरपर्यन्तमक्षरं सर्वतोमुखम् ॥
Ibid., LXIV, 29-30.

49. मज्जेत् त्रयी दण्डनीतौ हतायां सर्वे धर्माः प्रक्षयेयुर्विबुद्धाः ।
सर्वे धर्माश्चाश्रमाणां हताः स्युः क्षात्रे त्यक्ते राजधर्मे पुराणे ॥
Ibid., LXIII, 28.

list of such subjects and mentioned *Kṣatra-vidyā* as one of those.⁵⁰ Macdonell and Keith, giving the literal translation of the term, explain it as “the science of the ruling class.”⁵¹ Śaṅkara, in his commentary, explains it as *Dhanurveda* and to Macdonell and Keith, this is the “most probable sense.”⁵² To me, the more probable sense of the word seems to be politics, because it has been specifically called *Kṣatra-vidyā*, the science of, or for, the *Kṣatriyas*, who generally formed the ruling class. Moreover, *Khatta-vijja*, the Pālī form of *Kṣatra-vidyā*, was definitely employed to denote politics.⁵³ Anjaria says that it corresponds with the word *Danḍanīti* and *Rāja-vidyā*.⁵⁴

Origin of Danḍanīti : The Mahābhārata gives firstly a divine and secondly a human origin of *Danḍanīti*. Its origin is tagged to Brahmā in the Śānti Parva, wherein Bhīṣma gives the following account. In the beginning there was neither king nor the state; neither chastisement nor the chastiser. The State of nature was a golden age and people lived righteously. In course of time, the condition changed. Unrighteousness prevailed and disorder crept in. There-

50. ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं पित्र्यं राशिं दैवं निधिं वाकोवाक्यमेकायनं देवविद्यां ब्रह्मविद्यां भूतविद्यां क्षत्रविद्यां नक्षत्रविद्यां सर्पदेवजनविद्यामेतद्भगवोऽध्यामि ॥

Chāndogyaopaniṣad, VII, 1, 2. See also, VII, 2, 1 and VII, 7, 1.

51. Macdonell and Keith : *Vedic Index* (1958). Vol. I, p. 202.

52. Ibid.

53. Vide R. H. Davids and William Stede : *Pali-English Dictionary* (Pālī Text Society, London), SV. Khatta, p. 60. Sometimes the word *Khatta-dhamma* also denotes political science in the Jātakas. A. B. Buddhanta explains the word Khatta as “political science”, *Concise Pali-English Dictionary*, (Colombo, 1949), SV. Khatta, p. 85.

54. *Nature and Ground of Political Obligation in Hindu State*, pp. 52-3.

upon people approached Brahmā and requested him to remove the chaotic conditions and to rescue the world therefrom. At this, Brahmā created a treatise, consisting of 100000 chapters, with the title Nitiśāstra. This treatise dealt with manifold topics and specially with *Daṇḍanīti*.⁵⁵ This exhaustive encyclopaedia was successively abridged by Viśālākṣa, Bahudantaka, Bṛhaspati and Kavi, respectively in 10000, 5000, 3000 and 1000 chapters. These versions were known as Vaiśālākṣa, Bāhudantaka, Bārhaspatya and Kāvya⁵⁶ respectively. Thus *Daṇḍanīti* is older than even the state.

The second account of the divine origin of *Daṇḍanīti* occurs in the Śānti Parva.⁵⁷ Therein, Bhīṣma refers to the dialogue, once held between Vasuhoma and Māndhātā. Being asked by Māndhātā, Vasuhoma narrated the following myth, wherein the origin of *Daṇḍanīti* has been attributed to Sarasvatī. Once upon a time, Brahmā wanted to perform a sacrifice, but could not find a suitable priest (*ṛtvij*). Hence, from his head, he gave birth to a child, known as Kṣup, to perform the functions of the priest (*ṛtvij*). At the commencement of the sacrifice, Brahmā assuming the role of a sacrificer, became mild and peaceful. This resulted in the disappearance of chastisement which resided in the furious form of Brahmā. Consequently great confusion, unrighteousness, disorder, mixture of class (*varṇa-saṃkara*) crept in. Seeing these chaotic conditions, Brahmā went to Śiva with a request to remove this undesirable atmosphere. At this, Śiva created himself in the form of *daṇḍa*. From this form of Śiva, Sarasvatī created *Daṇḍanīti*.⁵⁸

55. For the subjects, included in this treatise vide *infra*, pp. 41 ff.

56. *Mbh.* Śānti, Chap. LIX.

57. Chap. CXXII.

58. तस्माच्च धर्मचरणान्नीतिर्देवी सरस्वती ।

ससृजे दण्डनीतिं सा त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुता ॥ *Ibid.*, CXII, 25.

According to these two accounts of the divine origin, *Danḍa* and *Danḍanīti* have been deified respectively as Viṣṇu and Sarasvatī in the Mahābhārata and *Danḍanīti* has also been called Lakṣmī, Vṛtti, Sarasvatī and the daughter of Brahmā.⁵⁹

In the Bhāgavata and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas also, the origin of *Danḍanīti* has been attributed to Brahmā.⁶⁰ Similar information is furnished by the Śukra Nitisāra.⁶¹

Human Origin : In the Śānti Parva, its authorship has been attributed to seven sages. The account runs as follows : On the Mount Meru, Marīci, Atri, Aṅgirā, Pulas-tya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vaśiṣṭha created a science and composed a treatise thereon, for the welfare of the whole world. After completion, the treatise was placed before Nārāyaṇa for approval. The latter was highly pleased to see that useful work. He gave boons to those seven sages, and predicted a long period of the prevalence of that science. That the science created by those seven sages was *Danḍanīti* is known from the succeeding *ślokas*, put in the mouth of Nārāyaṇa, who said that the treatise would prove to be an important source of information for the treatises of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Śukra and would be recognized as the best work on Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra, and that science would be the best of all the sciences.⁶²

Whatever be the origin of *Danḍanīti*, human or divine, this much is certain that it originated for the establishment of

59. दण्डो हि भगवान्विष्णुः दण्डो नारायणः प्रभुः ।

शश्वद् रूपं महद् विभ्रन् महान् पुरुष उच्यते ॥

• तथोक्ता ब्रह्मकन्येति लक्ष्मीवृत्तिः सरस्वती ।

दण्डनीतिर्जगद्धात्री दण्डो हि बहुविग्रहः ॥ Ibid., CXXI, 23-4.

60. *Bhāgavata*, III, 12, 44; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, II, 29, 8-9; 32, 40; 35, 195. *Teste Dikshitar : Purāṇa Index*, Vol. II, p. 66.

61. *Śukra*, I, 2-3.

62. *Mbh. Śānti*, CCCXXXV, 27 ff.

peace and order, which comes within the comprehensive Hindu conception of *Dharma*. Its necessity was felt for prosperity, happiness and welfare. The necessity of an authority to enforce it, gave rise to the institution of kingship. The king was to be impartial and even-handed towards all. He was never to become a despot. That is why the ancient Indian thinkers believed in the divine origin of *Daṇḍanīti* and in the case of human origin, the approval of god Nārāyaṇa was sought for. As rightly observed by C. V. Vaidya, "by thus assigning a divine origin to *Daṇḍanīti* or the rules of government, the Indians tried to put a check on the absolutely unfettered will of their monarchs".⁶³

Contents and Scope of Daṇḍanīti : The Māhābhārata gives us a clear and comprehensive account of the ancient Indian political thought, the highest watermark being attained in the Śānti Parva.

The contents of the Nītiśāstra, composed by Brahmā, show that all the aspects of politics, connected with internal and external affairs, administrative machinery, ministers, espionage, fiscal administration, means of enriching a treasury, legal affairs, establishment of peace, fourfold policy consisting of *Sāma* (reconciliation), *Dāna* (giving of gifts), *Bheda* (creating dissension) and *Daṇḍa* (war), types of treaties viz. *uttama* (good), *madhyama* (middling) and *adhama* (bad), appropriate time for attacking an enemy, kinds of fighting, limbs of an army, arrays (*vyūhas*), war-tactics, fortification and ditching etc., trickery and its employment, conception of kingship, qualities and qualifications of a king, philanthropic functions of a state are well recognised by the Mahābhārata. The contents include the fourfold end of human life, viz.

63. *Epic India*, p. 197.

Dharma, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa* also.⁶⁴ Since salvation, too, was regarded as one of its concerns, it goes without saying that according to the great Epic, the end of politics was ethical.

Necessity and Importance of Danḍanīti : The Mahābhārata greatly stresses the necessity and importance of *Danḍanīti*, it being “a favourite theme of the Epic”.⁶⁵ In answer to the enquiries of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīṣma says “*Rājadharmā* is the refuge of the whole world. *Trivarga* (threefold end of human life, viz. *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*) is dependent on it. Not only this, the practices and conditions required for salvation also depend on it. It is this, which keeps the whole world under restraint. Thus, it is just like reins, necessary for controlling horses, and like a hook, in the case of elephants. This science destroys all sorts of evils like the Sun, which removes darkness. Its absence leads to confusion, disorder and unrighteousness”.⁶⁶

This statement of Bhīṣma is corroborated by the account of the origin of *Danḍanīti*, which says that it was created by Brahmā with a view to removing chaos and establishing

64. *Mbh.* Śānti, LIX, 29-79.

65. Anjaria : *Nature and Ground of Political Obligation in Hindu State*, p. 59.

66. त्रिवर्गो हि समासक्तो राजधर्मेषु कौरव ।

मोक्षधर्मश्च विस्पष्टः सकलोऽत्र समाहितः ॥

यथा हि रश्मयोऽश्वस्य द्विरदस्याकुशो यथा ।

नरेन्द्रधर्मो लोकस्य तथा प्रग्रहणं स्मृतम् ।

तत्र चेत् सम्प्रमुह्येत धर्मो राजर्षिसेविते ॥

लोकस्य संस्था न भवेत् सर्वं च व्याकुलीभवेत् ।

उदयन् हि यथा सूर्यो नाशयत्यशुभं तमः ।

राजधर्मास्तथाऽलोकायां निक्षिपन्त्यशुभां गतिम् ॥ Śānti, LVI, 2-7.

For details, vide *infra*, State in the Mahābhārata, pp. 106 ff. and Monarchy and Morals, pp. 130 ff.

order and *Dharma*. In a dialogue between Māndhātā and Indra, the latter emphasizes its importance in these words, "Upon the disappearance of kingly duties and the science of chastisement, all creatures become exceedingly afflicted, as a result of the tyranny of kings",⁶⁷ whereas "when sinful men are restrained with the aid of science of chastisement, then *Dharma*, which is eternal, superior to everything and the source of everything good, becomes firmly established".⁶⁸ Thus, the great emphasis, laid by the Mahābhārata on *Dandanīti*, is due to the fact that it is conceived of as the guarantee of the maintenance of *Dharma*.

In the Śānti Parva⁶⁹ the question has been discussed whether the king is the maker of the four ages, viz. *Satya Yuga* or *Kṛta Yuga*, *Tretā Yuga*, *Dvāpara Yuga* and *Kali Yuga* or vice versa. Bhīṣma decides the question in favour of the former view. He further explains the problem by telling Yudhiṣṭhira that the king makes the different ages as a result of the enforcement of *Dandanīti*. When the king rules completely in accordance with *Dandanīti*, the foremost of ages, called *Kṛta* is said to set in. Bhīṣma describes in detail the righteous conduct of subjects, as a consequence of this Age. The members of the four *varṇas* stick to their specific duties. Righteousness prevails everywhere and there is no trace of unrighteousness (*adharma*). Vedic rites are performed unobstructed. Diseases, death at an early age and widows are not to be found. In a word, in such a state, virtue and happiness reign supreme.

67. विनष्टायां दण्डनीत्यां राजधर्मो निराकृते ।

सम्प्रमुह्यन्ति भूतानि राजदौरात्म्यतोऽनघ ॥

Śānti, LXV, 24. Translation by P. C. Ray.

68. यदा निवर्त्यते पापो दण्डनीत्या महात्मभिः ।

तदा धर्मो न चलते सद्भूतः शाश्वतः परः ॥ Ibid., LXV, 27.

69. Ibid., LXIX, 80, 87-91.

When the king observes only three-fourths of *Danḍanīti* and neglects one-fourth of the same, the *Tretā Yuga* sets in, wherein the state of affairs is not so perfect as it is in the *Satya Age*. Fifty per cent negligence of *Danḍanīti* by the monarch results in the *Dvāpara Yuga* and in conformity with it conditions deteriorate and become still worse. And when the ruler abandons *Danḍanīti* completely, the *Kali Yuga* sets in, the atmosphere wherein is just the contrary to that of the *Kṛta Age*. People become afflicted. The Vedas disappear. Righteousness comes to an end. People do not observe their duties. No *Vedic* rite is performed. People suffer from diseases and die at an early age. Women become widows. The rains do not pour in time. The earth does not yield satisfactory grains.⁷⁰

In the *Udyoga Parva* also, king is said to be the maker of the four ages (*Yugas*). Like *Bhīṣma*, *Kuntī* also believes that the four ages depend on the extent to which *Danḍanīti* is applied by the king. A king goes to heaven, if he creates the *Kṛta Age* and to hell if he be responsible for the *Kali Age*. The more the reliance on this Science, the better the *Yuga* that sets in.⁷¹

In the *Śānti Parva*, *Bhīṣma* throws more light on the reasons which have earned such an important place for *Danḍanīti*. It makes the different *varṇas* do their specific duties, which are engulfed in it like the foot-prints of animals, engulfed in the foot-prints of an elephant. All the *varṇas* are protected by *Rājadharma*. With the disappearance of *Danḍanīti*, the Vedas too disappear and *Dharma* comes to an end. The

70. Ibid., *Śānti*, LXIX, 76-105.

71. Ibid., *Udyoga*, CXXX, I, 14-20. Vide *infra*, *Monarchy and Morals*, pp. 131-2

absence of *Rājadharmā* results in the disappearance of the *Āśrama-dharma* (the duties prescribed for the different stages of life). Confusion prevails and wicked persons trouble the general public. It is the *Rājadharmā* which maintains *Dharma* and order and serves as a check on the cruel and wicked persons. Hence, *Rājadharmā* is the basis of all sorts of renunciation, initiations, branches of knowledge and *lokas* (regions)⁷².

Brahmā says in the Śānti Parva that *Danḍanīti* was created for the welfare of the whole world, and was meant to punish the wicked persons and reward the good ones⁷³. Kāmaṇḍaka says, “a king who is self-restrained and who controls his subjects with the help of *Danḍanīti*, attains salvation. Prosperity comes to him (without difficulties) like the rivers merging into a sea⁷⁴. A king has been always advised to

72. बाह्वायत्तं क्षत्रियैर्मनवानां लोकश्रेष्ठं धर्ममासेवमानैः ।
लोकश्रेष्ठं सोपधर्मास्त्रयाणां राज्ञो धर्मादिति वेदाच्छृणोमि ॥
यथा राजन् हस्तिपदे पदानि संलीयन्ते सर्वसत्त्वोद्भवानि ।
एवं धर्मान् राजधर्मेषु सर्वान् सर्वाविस्थं सम्प्रलीयान्निबोध ॥
अल्पाश्रयान्तल्पफलान् वदन्ति धर्मानन्यान्धर्मविदो मनुष्याः ।
महाश्रयं बहुकल्याणरूपं क्षात्रधर्मं नेतरं प्राहुरार्याः ॥
सर्वे धर्मा राजधर्मप्रधानाः सर्वे वर्णाः पाल्यमाना भवन्ति ।
सर्वस्त्यागो राजधर्मेषु राजस्त्यागं धर्मं चाहुरग्र्यं पुराणं ॥
मज्जेत् त्रयी दण्डनीतौ हतायां सर्वे धर्माः प्रक्षयेयुर्विबुद्धाः ।
सर्वे धर्माश्चाश्रमणां हता स्युः क्षात्रे त्यक्ते राजधर्मे पुराणे ॥
सर्वे त्यागा राजधर्मेषु दृष्टाः सर्वा दीक्षा राजधर्मेषु चोक्ता ।
सर्वा विद्या राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः सर्वे लोका राजधर्मे प्रविष्टाः ॥
यथा जीवाः प्राकृतैर्वध्यमाना धर्मश्रुतानामुपपीडनाय ।
एवं धर्माः राजधर्मैर्वियुक्ताः संचिन्वन्तो नाद्रियन्ते स्वधर्मम् ॥
LXIII, 24-30.

73. दण्डेन सहिता ह्येषा लोकरक्षणकारिका ।
निग्रहानुग्रहरता लोकाननुचरिष्यति ॥ *ibid.*, LIX, 77
74. *Kāmaṇḍaka*, II, 44.

protect himself and the different branches of knowledge by *Danḍanīti*, because it aims at the common welfare⁷⁵. Kauṭilya assigns an important place to it because on it depend the affairs of the world (*loka-yātrā*)⁷⁶. According to the Matsya Purāṇa, *Danḍanīti* is necessary for the establishment of orderly progress⁷⁷. The Vāyu Purāṇa says that it aims at the performance of one's ordained duties.⁷⁸

Functions of Danḍanīti : The ancient Indian thinkers believed in the fourfold function of *Danḍanīti*, viz. the attainment of unacquired things, preservation of what has been acquired, increasing what has been achieved and dispensing of the things, thus increased on meritorious persons⁷⁹.

That *Danḍanīti* was expected to serve the same fourfold purpose till about the fifth century A. D. is known from the Junagadh Inscription of Skandagupta, which belongs to the latter half of the fifth century A. D. (455-458 A. D.)⁸⁰

75. तयाऽऽत्मानं च शेषाश्च विद्याः पायान्महीपतिः ।

विद्या लोकोपकारिण्यस्तत्पाता हि महीपतिः ॥

Ibid., II, 16.

76. तस्यामायत्रा लोकयात्रा ।

Arthaśāstra, Bk. XV, Chap. 4.

77. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 123, 24; 142, 74; 145, 36; 215, 54. Teste Dikshitar : *Purāṇa Index*, Vol. II, p. 66.

78. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 49, 117-8; 57, 82; 59, 26; 61, 164. Teste Dikshitar, op cit, p. 66.

79. दण्डनीतिं पुरस्कृत्य विजानन् क्षत्रियः सदा ।

अनावृष्टं च लिप्सेत लब्धं च परिपालयेत् ॥

Mbh. Śānti, LXIX, 102. See also ibid., CXL, 5.

अलब्धलाभार्था लब्धपरिरक्षणी रक्षितविवर्धनी वृद्धस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादिनी ॥

Arthaśāstra (Ed. G. P. Sastry), Bk. I, Chap. 4.

80. Junagadh Inscription of Skandagupta, verse No. 8. from D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, p. 302.

The *Nitivākyaṃṛta* mentions the first three functions of *Danḍanīti*.⁸¹

The place of Danḍanīti in the Scheme of Vidyās (branches of knowledge) : The *Śānti Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* speaks of four branches of knowledge (*vidyās*), namely, *Ānvīkṣikī* (philosophy), *Trayī* (triple Vedas), *Vārtā* (economics), and *Danḍanīti* (politics).⁸² In the *Vana Parva* philosophy is omitted and it is said that *Trayī*, *Vārtā* and *Danḍanīti* lead to the welfare of the whole world, if given due attention.⁸³ *Danḍanīti*, along with *Trayī*, is a means to prosperity.⁸⁴

The *Bhagavadgītā*, a part of the *Mahābhārata*, establishes the superiority of spiritual knowledge (*Adhyātma Vidyā*, i. e., the science of spiritual self) to all other branches of knowledge. *Adhyātma Vidyā* has been described there as the king of *vidyās* (*rājavidyā*).⁸⁵ In the very next chapter, Lord Kṛṣṇa expresses the same opinion by saying “of all the *vidyās*, I am *Adhyātma Vidyā*, the science of spiritual self”.⁸⁶

In the very first book of his *Arthaśāstra*, Kauṭilya mentions the same branches of knowledge. He refers also to the views of the various schools of thought. We are informed that the *Mānavas*, the followers of *Manu*, believed only in three sciences—*Trayī*, *Vārtā* and *Danḍanīti*, omitting *Ānvīkṣikī* from the list. The *Bārhaspatya* school of thought, founded by *Bṛhaspati*, believed only in two *vidyās*, viz. *Vārtā* and *Danḍanīti* and excluded *Ānvīkṣikī* and *Trayī* from the list.

81. अलब्धलाभी लब्धपरिरक्षणं रक्षितविवर्धनं चार्थानुबन्धः ।

Nitivākyaṃṛta (Ed. Sundarlal Sastry, Delhi, 1905), II, 3.

82. त्रयी चान्वीक्षिकी चैव वार्ता च भरतर्षभ ।

दण्डनीतिश्च विपुला विद्यास्तत्र निर्दिशता ॥ *Mbb. Śānti*, LIX, 33.

83. *Ibid.*, *Vana*, CL, 31.

84. *Ibid.*, CCVII, 24.

85. *Ibid.*, *Bhīṣma*, XXXIII, 2.

86. अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां वादः प्रवदतामहम् ॥ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 32.

The followers of Uśanasa (Śukrācārya), known as the Auśanāsas, went a step further and regarded *Danḍanīti* as the only science. They held the view that *Danḍanīti* is the source of all other sciences. Kauṭilya, however, does not agree with these extremist views and he recognizes all the four *vidyās* as necessary for a knowledge of *Dharma* and *Adharma*.⁸⁷ Although Kauṭilya does not minimise the importance of any of these, he speaks highly of philosophy. According to him, *Ānvīkṣikī* views other sciences in the light of reason and keeps the mind steady in weal and woe. It bestows skill in knowledge, speech and action.⁸⁸ It is the guide to (literally light of) all other sciences.⁸⁹

The *Manu Smṛti* refers to *Ātma-vidyā* (the science of self) along with these four branches of knowledge.⁹⁰ Kāmandaka deals with this problem in considerable details. He, as it

87. आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीवार्तादण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः ।

त्रयीवार्तादण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः ।

वार्तादण्डनीतिश्चेति बार्हस्पत्याः । दण्डनीतिरेका विद्येत्यौशनसाः ।

तस्यां हि सर्वविद्यारम्भाः प्रतिबद्धा इति । चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः ॥

तामिधमार्थं यद्विद्यात्तद्विद्यानां विद्यात्वम् ॥ Bk. I, Chap. 2, 1-9.

88. Ibid., Bk. I, Chap. 2, p. 10.

89. प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानां उपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।

आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता ॥ Ibid.

The importance attached to philosophy by Kauṭilya leads us to conclude that the views of those scholars, who, on the basis of a distorted understanding of Kauṭilyan thought, regard him as the Indian Machiavelli are contradicted by the internal evidence furnished by the text itself.

The following papers in *IHQ*, Vol. II. 1926, may be consulted for this discussion—B. K. Sarkar : Hindu Politics in Italian, pp. 146-57, and pp. 353-72; Kalidasa Nag : Benoy Kumar Sarkar and the New Machiavelli, pp. 650-4; B. K. Sarkar : On some Methods and Conclusions on Hindu Politics, pp. 848-63.

90. *Manu*, VII, 43.

were, re-echoes the Kauṭilyan view⁹¹, but he attaches greater importance to *Danḍanīti* by saying that in the absence of *Danḍanīti*, the other three sciences become ineffective. If the ruler relies on *Danḍanīti*, the rest of the *vidyās* also flourish.⁹² Hence, a king should protect himself as well as the other *vidyās* with the help of *Danḍanīti*, which is beneficial to the whole world.⁹³

The Agni Purāṇa summarises the contents of these four sciences.⁹⁴ In the Matsya Purāṇa⁹⁵ *Ātma-vidyā* (the science of self) has been mentioned, besides these four-fold sciences. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,⁹⁶ the same traditional four sciences are accepted. At another place, however, this work gives a list of eighteen *vidyās*, consisting of the four *Vedas*, their six *aṅgas* (*Śikṣā*, *Kalpa*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Chanda*, *Jyotiṣ* and *Nirukta*), *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, *Purāṇa*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Āyurveda*, *Dhanurveda*, *Gandharva-vidyā* and *Arthaśāstra*.⁹⁷ *Mīmāṃsā* and *Nyāya* of this list come under *Ānwīkṣikī*. *Vedas* convey the sense of *Trayī*, and *Arthaśāstra* is, as we have already seen, but another name of *Danḍanīti*. This list completely excludes *Vārtā* and gives several additional subjects. No information about their respective importance is furnished by the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

91. *Kāmandaka*, II, 1-6.

92. II, 8-9. Also see the *śloka* following.

93. तयाऽऽत्मानं शेषाश्च विद्याः पायान्महीपतिः ।

विद्या लोकोपकारिण्यस्तत्पाता हि महीपतिः ॥ *Ibid.*, II, 16.

94. *Agni Purāṇa*, 238, 8-9.

95. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 215, 53.

96. आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिस्तथापरा ।

विद्याचतुष्टयं चैतद्वातामात्रं शृणुष्व मे ॥

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, V. 10, 29, 27.

97. *Ibid.*, III, 6, 28-9.

In the Śukra Nītisāra also these four branches of knowledge find mention. According to Śukra, a king should always practise these, because they help in establishing the four *varṇas* and the four *āśramas*.⁹⁸

To sum up, *Danḍanīti* is one of the fourfold *vidyās*, in the Mahābhārata, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Manu Smṛti, the Kāmandaka Nītisāra, the Agni Purāṇa, the Matsya Purāṇa, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Śukra Nītisāra. Generally, the place assigned to *Danḍanīti* is equal to that of the other *vidyās*. Kauṭilya, however, seeks to establish the superiority of *Āmīkṣikī* over *Danḍanīti*, by describing the former as the guide to all the sciences (*Pradīpaḥ sarvavidyānām*). Kāmandaka emphasises the necessity of *Danḍanīti* for the progress of the remaining three branches of knowledge.

The Scheme of Trivarga : The ancient Indians believed in the four ends of human life, known as the four *puṇṣārthas*, namely, *Dharma* (virtue and the righteousness of conduct), *Artha* (material prosperity), *Kāma* (desires or psycho-physiological needs) and *Mokṣa* (salvation). The above four constituted the Hindu conception of *Caturvarga*. Sometimes salvation was excluded, and the remaining three were then denoted by the term *Trivarga*.⁹⁹ We shall deal with these ends separately first and collectively later.

Dharma : There is no word in English, possessing exactly the same connotation as the word *Dharma*. To the

98. Śukra, I, 151-3.

99. यत्र धर्मस्तथैवार्थः कामश्चैवामिर्वर्णितः ।

त्रिवर्गं इति विख्यातो गण एष स्वयम्भुवा ।

चतुर्थो मोक्ष इत्येव पृथगर्थः पृथग्गुणः ॥

Mbh. Śānti, LIX, 29-30.

त्रिवर्गो धर्मकामार्थः चतुर्वर्गः समोक्षकैः ।

Mudrārākṣasa, Act V, 22, Teste, Dikshitar, Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 37.

ancient Indians, this word had different meanings in different contexts. It denoted law, virtue, righteousness, religion, innate propriety of a thing, justice, proper and specific duties, functions, moral precepts and righteous course of conduct.¹⁰⁰ In the scheme of *Trivarga*, it stands for the righteous course of conduct or righteous and proper performance of one's duties.¹⁰¹ According to the *Mahābhārata*, *Dharma* should be capable of helping others too. That, which troubles others is not *Dharma* at all. Then it becomes a vice and bad conduct. One, who practises it for its own sake is, according to Bhīmasena, like a blind man, unable to perceive solar light.¹⁰²

Artha : *Artha* is the next object of life in the scheme of *Trivarga*. Literally the word means wealth. But this is a narrow meaning of the term. In this context, however, it implies material prosperity i. e. worldly achievements. To Sri Aurobindo, *Artha* stands for "vital interests".¹⁰³ According to the *Mahābhārata* *Artha*, for its own sake, has no meaning. It should be properly utilized in making donations etc., otherwise the possessor does not understand its purpose and he is just like a servant, who is assigned the task

100. For details see *infra*, pp. 72-5.

101. Sri Aurobindo renders the word *Dharma* as "ethics and religion," in *The Human Cycle* (Pondicherry, 1949) quoted by V. P. Varma : *Studies in Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations*, p. 53, f.n. 1.

102. कर्षणार्थो हि यो धर्मो मित्राणामात्मनस्तथा ।
व्यसनं नाम तद् राजन् न धर्मः स कुधर्म तत् ॥
यस्य धर्मो हि धर्मार्थे क्लेशभाह्व न स पण्डितः ।
न स धर्मस्य वेदार्थं सूर्यस्यान्धः प्रभामिव ॥
Mbh. Vana, XXXIII, 21-3.

103. Sri Aurobindo : *The Human Cycle*, teste V. P. Varma : *Studies in Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations*, p. 53. f.n. 1.

of looking after the kine in the forest.¹⁰⁴ *Artha* implies honourable and legitimate earning of wealth.

Kāma : In its narrow sense, the term *Kāma* stands for sexual desires and in its broader sense, however, for desires as such. At one place, the Mahābhārata explains *Kāma* as the pleasure, derived from the possession of wealth.¹⁰⁵ *Kāma* is the joy, that results from the sense-organs, mind (*manā*) and heart (*hr̥daya*), when they are directed to their respective objects.¹⁰⁶ It is noteworthy in this connection that the ancient Indian thinkers did not condemn *Kāma* altogether. They gave due place to it, of course the lowest, in their scheme of *Trivarga*. They sanctioned the satisfaction of all sorts of desires, but emphasized that the same should be within limits.¹⁰⁷

Ancient Indians' Attitude Towards Trivarga : Though the Mahābhārata says that one should have a correct idea of the

104. यस्य चात्मार्थमेवार्थः स च नार्थस्य कोविदः ।

रक्षेत मृतकोऽरण्ये यथा गास्तादृगेव सः ॥

Mbh. Vana, XXXIII, 24.

105. द्रव्यार्थस्पर्शसंयोगे या प्रीतिरुपजायते ।

स कामश्चित्तसंकल्पः शरीरं नास्य दृश्यते ॥

Ibid., XXXIII, 30.

106. इन्द्रियाणां च पञ्चानाम् मनसो हृदयस्य च ।

विषये वर्तमानानां या प्रीतिरुपजायते ॥

स काम इति मे बुद्धिः कर्मणां फलमुत्तमम् ॥

Ibid., XXXIII, 37-8. See also *Ibid.*, CXXIII, 6.

107. "They (the *Dharmaśāstra* writers) recognise that *Kāma* has a place as a motive urging men to be active but they assign it a low place. They recognise that a man shares with lower beings the impulses and emotions of sex, but that the satisfaction of these impulses is of lower values than the moral and spiritual ends proper for a developed human personality and, therefore, insist that it should be subordinated to *Artha* and *Dharma*".

Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. p. 8.

precedence and preference of the three constituents of *Trivarga*, it points out that all the three are necessary and play an important part in the life of man. This emphasis on all the goals of life was due to the belief that their realisation would ultimately lead to the fourth *puruṣārtha*, i. e. *Mokṣa* (salvation), the final goal of human life. The words of Dr. Bhagwan Das, in this connection, are worth quoting. "As the three ends of the Path of Pursuit are inter-dependent, so also all these, taken together on the one side, and the end of the Path of Renunciation on the other are inter-dependent also.... Only after renunciation of the lower is pursuit of the higher possible".¹⁰⁸

In the ancient Indian literature the necessity of all the three ends has been inculcated at many places. We are informed that Kṛṣṇa, accompanied by Bhīmasena and Arjuna, planned to go to Magadha in order to kill Jarāsandha. At this Yudhiṣṭhira said that he could not live without those three and would be like a sick and afflicted man, devoid of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*.¹⁰⁹ Rāmacandra, before leaving for forest expressed the same view in the Rāmāyaṇa. He saw no reason to doubt that *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* exist together.¹¹⁰ The Amara-Kośa feels the necessity of the

108. *The Science of Social Organisation*, p. 36.

109. Yudhiṣṭhira said:

त्रिभिर्भवंद्भिर्हि विना नाहं जीवितुमुत्सहे ।

धर्मकामार्थरहितो रोगार्त इव दुःखितः ॥ *Mbh.* Sabhā, XX, 13.

110. धर्मार्थकामाः किल तात लोके समीक्षिता धर्मफलोदयेषु ।

ते तत्र सर्वे स्युरसंशयं मे भार्येव वश्यामिमता सुपुत्रम् ॥
Rām. (Nirṇaya Sāgar Press) Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, XXI, 57.

See also धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु यस्यैकोऽपि न विद्यते ।

जन्मजन्मनि मर्त्येषु मरणं तस्य केवलम् ॥

Cāṇakya Nīti Darpaṇa, 3, 20.

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां यस्यैकोऽपि न विद्यते ।

अजागलस्तनस्यैव तस्य जन्म निरर्थकम् ॥ *Ibid.*, 13, 9.

observance of *Trivarga* for sailing the boat of life smoothly on the waters of the world-ocean.¹¹¹

All the three ends were deemed important in the life of a human being but they were not equal in importance. One should have a clear idea of their proper proportion, order and dross. To Bhīṣma, the filth (*mala*) of *Dharma* was the desire of being rewarded; of *Artha*, the collection of wealth and of *Kāma*, the extreme indulgence in pleasures.¹¹² Excess should be avoided. Attaching too much importance even to *Dharma*, the highest end of life, has been regarded as harmful and hence, inadvisable, because one, who does so, is abandoned by *Artha* and *Kāma* and becomes like a dead body, having neither (the feelings of) happiness nor (of) sorrow.¹¹³ Śaṅkarārya holds a similar view.¹¹⁴ One, extremely devoted to *Artha* has been condemned by Bhīmasena.¹¹⁵ In the same way, one, extremely indulged in *Kāma*, is said to be left by his friends and to be bereft of *Dharma* and *Artha*.

111. Teste Dikshitar, op . cit., p. 27.

112. अपध्यानमलो धर्मो मलोऽर्थस्य निगूहन्म् ।

सम्प्रमोदमलः कामो भूयः स्वगुणवर्जितः ॥

Mbh. Śānti, CXXIII, 10.

113. सर्वथा धर्मनित्यं तु पुरुषं धर्मदुर्बलम् ।

त्यजतस्तात धर्मार्थौ प्रेतं दुःखसुखे यथा ॥

Ibid., Vana, XXXIII, 22.

114. अतिदानेन धर्मोऽर्थं हत्वा कामं धर्मान्तरं च हन्ति ।

तपश्चात्यन्तसेवितं कामं हत्वा शरीरक्षयात् धर्मार्थौ हन्ति ॥

Śaṅkarārya's commentary on Kāmandaka, I, 51, Teste Dikshitar: *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 33.

115. *Mbh.* Vana, XXXIII, 25.

cf. धनानि येषां विपुलानि सन्ति नित्यं रमन्ते सुविभूषितांगाः ।

तेषामयं यन्नुवरघ्न लोको नासौ सदा देहसुखे रतानाम् ॥

Ibid., CLXXXIII, 89.

He is sure to meet his end like a fish, that dies as soon as the water dries up.¹¹⁶

The Śalya Parva condemns the excess of *Artha* and *Kāma* in these words, “*Dharma* is affected by *Artha* and *Kāma* of persons, extremely devoted to those. There should be harmony between these three. One, who follows them harmoniously attains happiness”.¹¹⁷ *Manu* disagrees with those, who believe either in the superiority of *Dharma* and *Artha*, or those, who emphasise *Kāma* and *Artha*. In the same way he differs from those too, who regard *Dharma* or *Artha* as the most important goal.¹¹⁸ One should practise all the three ends with a view to avoiding calamities. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*¹¹⁹ is one with the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Mahābhārata* in saying that all the three ends of life are equally necessary.

The three ends of life are in correspondence with the scheme of the four *āśramas*, with aims at the realisation of *Trivarga*. In the *Brahmacaryāśrama*, one should aim at *Dharma*, in the *Gṛhasthāśrama* *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* should be pursued and in the last two stages of life, viz. the *Vānaprastha* and the *Sanyāsa āśramas*, one should concentrate

116. सततं यश्च कामार्थी नेतरावनुतिष्ठति ।

मित्राणि तस्य नश्यन्ति धर्मार्थभ्यां च हीयते ॥

तस्य धर्मार्थहीनस्य कामान्ते निधनं ध्रुवम् ।

कामतो रममाणस्य मीनस्येवाम्भवसः क्षये ॥

ibid., Vana, XXXIII, 26-7.

117. Ibid., Śalya, LX, 21-2.

एवमेव पृथक् दृष्ट्वा धर्मार्थौ काममेव च ।

न धर्मपरं एव स्यात् न चार्थपरमो नरः ।

न कामपरमो वा स्यात् सर्वान् सेवेत सर्वदा ॥

Ibid., Vana, XXXIII, 38-9.

118. धर्मार्थवुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थौ धर्म एव च ।

अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयस् त्रिवर्गं इति तु स्थितिः ॥ II., 224.

119. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III, 11, 5-6.

on *Mokṣa*, maintaining the basis of *Dharma*. The information furnished by the *Śānti Parva* about the young ascetics and Indra (in the form of a bird) attracts our attention in this connection. Some young boys left for the woods, where they led the life of celibacy. Once they saw a bird that called them fools and told them to go back to their homes (and to lead the forest-life in proper time), because it was in the *Gr̥hasthāśrama* that sacrifices and other rites were performed. The boys were convinced. They went back to their homes and engaged themselves in the duties of the *Gr̥hasthāśrama*.¹²⁰ This story shows that the order of the *āśramas* was not to be transgressed since the *āśramas* and the *Trivarga* were closely connected.

In the *Vana Parva* it is said that one, who follows *Dharma* in the beginning, thereafter earns wealth righteously and then marries and performs sacrifices, attains happiness in this as well as the next world.¹²¹ Speaking about the ideals and practices of the kings of Kośāla, Kālidāsa expresses a similar view in his *Raghuvamśa*.¹²² According to Bhīmasena in the first part of the day, one should practise *Dharma*, in the second, *Artha* should be followed and in the last, *Kāma* should be given attention. This should be the daily routine. As regards the whole life, he lays down that in the

120. *Mbh.* Śānti, XI, 2-27.

Cf. चतुष्पदी हि निःश्रेणी ब्रह्मण्येषा प्रतिष्ठिता ।

एतामारुह्य निःश्रेणीं ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥

Ibid., CCXLII, 15. Cf. *Manu*, VI, 34.

121. ये धर्ममेव प्रथमं चरन्ति धर्मेण लब्ध्वा च धनानि काले ।

दारानवाप्य क्रतुभिर्यजन्ते तेषामयं चैव परश्च लोकः ॥

Mbh., Vana, CLXXXIII, 91.

122. *Raghuvamśa*, 1, 8.

first stage, i. e. young age, one should practise *Kāma*; in the middle age, *Artha* and in the old age, *Dharma*.¹²³

A wise man should follow these in the proper proportion, order and time.¹²⁴ The Viṣṇu Purāṇa says that one should get up early in the morning and should think of *Dharma* avoiding their conflict. *Kāma* should be practised without affecting *Dharma* and *Artha*.¹²⁵

Dharmaśāstric Versus Arthaśāstric Schools of Thought : In ancient India there were two schools of thought about the position of *Dharma* and *Artha*, (1) *Dharmaśāstric*, which believed in the superiority of *Dharma* and (2) *Arthaśāstric*, which vindicated the superiority of *Artha*. In the Mahābhārata both of these views are to be met with.

Dharmaśāstric School : The Mahābhārata establishes the superiority of *Dharma* on the ground that it is the source and basis of the other two ends, viz. *Artha* and *Kāma*.¹²⁶ Similar

123. धर्मं पूर्वे धनं मध्ये जघन्ये काममचारेत् ।

अहन्यनुचरेदेवमेष शास्त्रकृतो विधिः ॥

कामं पूर्वे धनं मध्ये जघन्ये धर्ममाचारेत् ।

वयस्यनुतरेदेवमेष शास्त्रकृतो विधिः ॥

ibid., Udyoga, XXXIII, 40-41.

124. धर्मं चार्थं च कामं च यथावद् वदतां वर ।

विभज्य काले कालज्ञः सर्वान् सेवेत पण्डितः ॥

Ibid., Vana, XXXIII, 42. See also ibid., Udyoga, XXXVII, 50.

125. ब्राह्मो मुहुर्ते चोत्थाय मनसा मतिमानृष ।

प्रबुद्धश्चिन्तयेद्धर्ममर्थं चाप्यविरोधयन् ॥

अपीडतया तयो कामं उभयोरपि चिन्तयेत् ।

दृष्टादृष्टविनाशाय त्रिवर्गे समदर्शिता ॥

II, 5-6.

126. त्रिवर्गोऽयं धर्ममूलो नरेन्द्र । Mbb. Vana, IV, 4.

ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरोम्येप न च कश्चिच्छृणोति मे ।

धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥ Ibid., Svargārohaṇa, V, 62.

opinions occur in the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka¹²⁷ and the Matsya Purāṇa.¹²⁸

Dharma has been assigned the highest place in the scheme of the three-fold end of life by the Mahābhārata,¹²⁹ the Rāmāyaṇa,¹³⁰ the Bārhaspatya Sūtra¹³¹ and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.¹³² According to the Mahābhārata, one, who gives the highest place to *Dharma* and acts accordingly, shines like the sun, whereas one, bereft of *Dharma*, has to face calamities even if the whole world be under his control.¹³³ If observed, *Dharma* protects the observer and if neglected, it kills the person responsible for its negligence.¹³⁴ The observance of *Dharma* never goes futile.¹³⁵ A wise man should never do an act, bereft of *Dharma*, even if that be ex-

धर्ममूलः सदैवार्थः कामोऽर्थफलमुच्यते ।

संकल्पमूलास्ते सर्वे संकल्पो विषयात्मकः ॥ Ibid., Śānti. CXXIII, 4.
See also ibid., Vana, XXIII, 29 and Udyoga, CXXIV, 37-8.

127. धर्मदर्थार्थतः कामः कामात् सुखफलोदयः । I, 49.

128. धर्मदर्थस्तथा कामो धर्मल्लोकद्वयं तथा ॥ CCXLI, 4,

Teste Bhagawan Das : *The Science of Social Organisation*, p. 34.

129. धर्म एव परः कामादर्थच्चेति व्यवस्थितः । Ādi, C, 5.

130. धर्मो हि परमो लोके धर्मे सत्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् । Ayodhyā, 21, 41.

131. धर्मः प्रधानं पुरुषार्थानां । *Bṛhaspati Sūtra*, II, 55. See also *Kāmasūtra*, Bk. I, II, 14. Teste Dikshitar : *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 28.

132. धर्मः प्रधानं पुरुषार्थात् ।

Arthaśāstra, II. 55. Teste Dikshitar, op. cit. p. 28.

133. धर्मं कृत्वा कर्मणां तात मुख्यं महाप्रतापः सवितेव भाति ।

हीनो हि धर्मेण महीमपीमां लब्ध्वा नरः सीदति पापबुद्धिः ॥

Udyoga, XXVII, 6.

134. धर्म एव हतो हन्ति धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः ।

Ibid., Vana, CCCXIII, 128. The same words occur in Manu, VIII, 15.

135. बहुद्वारस्य धर्मस्य नेहास्ति विफला क्रिया ।

Mbh. Śānti, CLXXIV, 2.

pected to yield good results and *Dharma* should be observed, even if very little fruit be expected therefrom¹³⁶. Hence, the Mahābhārata emphatically says that one should not give up *Dharma* on account of *Kāma*, fear, greed or even for the sake of life. *Dharma* is eternal, whereas pleasure and pain are not so¹³⁷. Similar is the opinion of Manu, who says that one should not transgress or neglect *Dharma*, even while confronted with great difficulties caused by *Dharma*, because those, who give up *Dharma* soon meet their fall¹³⁸. To Śukra, happiness is impossible without *Dharma*. Hence one should always follow it¹³⁹. The Mahābhārata¹⁴⁰ and the Rāmāyaṇa¹⁴¹ lay down that in case of conflict or doubt, *Dharma* should be followed.

Arthaśāstric School : The followers of the *Arthaśāstric* School attached great importance to *Artha*. Their views also find mention in the Mahābhārata. Thus, Yudhiṣṭhira says to Kṛṣṇa, “*Dhana* (wealth) is the highest *Dharma* (because wealth is a means to the observance of *Dharma*). Everything

-
136. धर्मादिपेतं यत्कर्म यद्यपि स्यान्महाफलम् ।
न तत् सेवेत मेधावी न तद्धितमिहोच्यते ॥
Ibid., CCIXIII, 8. cf. Ibid., CCIXIII, p. 5200 (Southern recension, G. P Edition).
137. न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभाद् धर्मं त्यजेज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ।
नित्यो धर्मः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये जीवो नित्यो हेतुरस्य त्वनित्यः ॥
Mbb. Svargārohaṇa, V, 63.
138. न सीदन्नपि धर्मेण मनोऽधर्मो निवेशयेत् ।
अधार्मिकानां पापानां आशु पश्यन् विपर्ययम् ॥
Manu, IV, 171.
139. III, 2-3.
140. यदा भवेत् संशयो धर्मकार्ये कामार्थे वा यत्र विन्दति सम्यक् ।
कार्यं तत्र प्रथमं धर्मकार्यं न तौ कुर्यादर्थकामौ स धर्मः ॥
Mbb. Ādi, XCII, p. 230 (Southern Recension, G. P. Edition).
141. Rām. (Nirṇaya Sāgar Press) Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, XXI, 57-8.

is based on it. Wealthy persons can live (happily). The poor people are almost dead. By destroying one's wealth, one affects the *Trivarga* of that person"¹⁴². In the *Śānti* Parva, we find Arjuna vindicating the supremacy of *Artha*. His view may be summarized as follows : *Dhana* (wealth) is the source of *Dharma* and *Kāma*. It leads to heaven also. *Artha* is necessary for the establishment of *Dharma*, because it is this which enables one to perform religious rites, by presenting facilities therefor¹⁴³. One, deprived of his wealth, is deprived of *Dharma* too (because he cannot perform religious rites without wealth). Hence a poor man is hated, as if he were a sinner¹⁴⁴. When economic conditions are satisfactory all acts flow unobstructed like rivers flowing from mountains, whereas the acts of a poor man are unsuccessful, like the streams that dry up in summer.¹⁴⁵ Wealth is very important, because without it, even the maintenance of life becomes impossible¹⁴⁶.

Bṛhaspati lays emphasis on *Artha*, because one, who possesses wealth has friends, *Dharma*, virtue, intelligence and

142. धनमाहुः परं धर्मं धने सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
जीवन्ति धनिनो लोके मृता ये त्वधना नराः ॥
ये धनादपकर्षन्ति नरं स्वबलमास्थिताः ।
ते धर्ममर्थं कामं च प्रमदन्ति नरं च तम् ॥
Mbh. Udyoga, LXXII, 23-4.

143. धनात् स्रवति धर्मो हि ।
Ibid., *Śānti*, XC, 18.
See also *ibid.*, VIII, 12, 17, 21-2.

144. *Ibid.*, Vana, XXXIII, 5.

145. अर्थेन हि विहीनस्य पुरुषस्याल्पमेधसः ।
विच्छिद्यन्ते क्रियाः सर्वा ग्रीष्मे कुसरितो यथा ॥
Ibid., *Śānti*, VIII, 18.

146. प्राणयात्राणि लोकस्य विना ह्यर्थं न सिध्यति ॥
Ibid., VIII, 17.

what not, whereas a poor man is (despised) like a dead man or a *cāṇḍāla*. Thus, wealth is at the root of this world.¹⁴⁷

Kauṭilya also is an expounder of the superiority of *Artha*. He believes that wealth is important in as much as *Dharma* and *Kāma* depend upon it for their realisation.¹⁴⁸ But he says that "As virtue (*Dharma*) is the basis of wealth (*Artha*) and as enjoyment is the end of wealth, success in achieving that kind of wealth, which promotes virtue, wealth and enjoyment, is the all-round success".¹⁴⁹

In his *Nitiśataka*, Bhartṛhari regards *Artha* as the most important end of life. He is prepared for all alternatives but not for separation from wealth, because without wealth, all the deeds of a man become ineffective and useless.¹⁵⁰ With the loss of money, the same man becomes altogether different.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, a wealthy man is held in high esteem. He is believed to be of high lineage. He is regarded as the learned, the knower of the Vedas, good orator

147. अर्थमर्जयेत् । यस्यार्थराशिरस्ति तस्य मित्राणि धर्मश्च विद्या च गुणकर्मणौ ।
च बुद्धिश्च । अधनेनार्थमर्जितुं न शक्यते गजो गजेनेव । धनमूलं जगत् ।
सर्वाणि तत्र सन्ति । निर्धनो मृतचाण्डालश्च ॥

Brahspati Sūtra (Ed. F. W. Thomas, Lahore, 1921) VI, 7-12. Teste V. P. Varma : *Studies in Hindu Political Thought and Its Metaphysical Foundations*, p. 54.

148. अर्थ एव प्रधानः इति कौटिल्यः । अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति ।

Arthaśāstra, Bk. I, 7, 10-11.

अर्थमूलौ धर्मकामौ ।

Ibid., Bk. VIII, 3, 34-5.

हेतुरर्थसाधको हेत्वर्थः ॥ अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति ॥

Ibid., Bk. XV, Ch. I, 15-6. See also *ibid.*, Bk. IX, 7, 69-74.

149. *Ibid.*, Bk. IX, Chap. 7. Translation by R. Shamasastri.

150. *Nitiśataka*, 39.

151. *Ibid.*, 40.

and he is the person, to whom people visit (*darśanīya*). All the virtues take refuge in wealth.¹⁵²

Śukra goes a step further. To him, not only *Artha* and *Kāma* but salvation (*Mokṣa*) too proceeds from *Artha*.¹⁵³

Thus in the Mahābhārata, we get both the views—*Dharmaśāstric* as well as *Arthaśāstric*. In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Bṛhaspati Sūtra, the Śukranītisāra and the Nītisātaka also, extremist views about the superiority of *Artha* occur. The Mahābhārata regards *Artha* to be of paramount importance, but it is not to go against *Dharma*.

Inter-relation of the Three Ends (Trivarga) : A balance of evidence from the Mahābhārata shows that it assigns the highest position to *Dharma*, lower to *Artha* and the lowest to *Kāma*.¹⁵⁴ Hence it condemns one, who neglects *Dharma* and *Artha*, and follows only *Kāma*. Moreover, such a person, as it were, destroys his intelligence and is laughed at by his enemies in times of distress.¹⁵⁵

In the Droṇa Parva, Droṇācārya says to Duryodhana that one should be efficient in the pursuit of all the three ends of life, but should not transgress or neglect *Dharma*

152. यस्यास्ति वित्तं स नरः कुलीनः

स पण्डितः स श्रुतवान्गुणज्ञः ।

स एव वक्ता स च दर्शनीयः

सर्वे गुणाः काञ्चनमाश्रयन्ति ॥

Ibid., 42.

153. अर्थाद्धर्मश्च कामश्च मोक्षश्चापि भवेन्तृणाम् ।

Śukra, IV, 1284.

154. धर्मो राजन् गुणः श्रेष्ठो मध्यमो ह्यर्थ उच्यते ।

कामो यवीयानिति च प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, CLXVII, 8.

155. धर्मार्थावभिसंत्यज्य संरम्भं योऽनुमन्यते ।

हसन्ति वासने तस्य दुर्हृदो नचिरादिव ॥

Ibid., Udyoga, CXXVIII, 30. See also Ibid., Śānti, CXXIII, 15.

and *Artha*. He should again and again perform such actions as are predominated by *Dharma*.¹⁵⁶ A wise man is advised to secure all the three, but *Kāma* in the least degree. One, desirous of attaining *Artha* should follow *Dharma*, because *Dharma* and *Artha* are inseparable like heaven and nectar.¹⁵⁷ The Matsya Purāṇa says that the realisation of *Artha* and *Kāma* by a man bereft of *Dharma* is impossible like the son of a barren woman.¹⁵⁸ Manu thinks that one should cast out *Artha* and *Kāma*, if they oppose *Dharma*. *Dharma* also can be given up, if it hurts the feelings of others and does not lead to happiness.¹⁵⁹ An almost identical verse occurs in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa also.¹⁶⁰

According to the Mahābhārata *Dharma* is sought for the protection of the body and wealth is required for the observance of *Dharma*. *Kāma* is necessary for the satisfaction of the desires of all sorts.¹⁶¹ Wise people act in accordance with the principles of *Trivarga*. If it is not possible to

156. धर्मार्थकामकुशलो धर्मार्थविषयपीडयन् ।
धर्मप्रधानकार्याणि कुर्याश्चेति पुनः पुनः ॥

Ibid., Droṇa, CLI, 137.

157. अर्थसिद्धिं परामिच्छन् धर्ममेवादितश्चरेत् ।
नहि धर्मादपैत्यर्थः स्वर्गलोकादिवामृतम् ॥
Ibid., Udyoga, XXXVII, 48.

158. धर्महीनस्य कामार्थौ बन्ध्यासुतसमौ ध्रुवम् ।
Matsya Purāṇa, CCXLI, 4.

Teste Bhagawan Das : *Science of Social Organisation*, p. 34.

159. परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ ।
धर्मं चाप्यसुखोदकं लोकविद्विष्टमेव च ॥
Manu, IV, 176.

160. परित्यजेदर्थकामौ धर्मपीडाकरो नृप ।
धर्ममप्यसुखोदकं लोकविद्विष्टमेव च ॥
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, III, 11, 7.

161. Mbb. Śānti, CXXIII, 6.

follow all the three, *Dharma* and *Artha* should be given preference. If there is a choice of only one the best of men prefers *Dharma*, a middling prefers *Artha* to the other two and the lowest type of man chooses *Kāma*. But one, who gives up *Dharma* due to greed, is sure to ruin himself.¹⁶² Thus, too much devotion to *Kāma* is deemed to be harmful. Kauṭilya also assigns the lowest position to *Kāma*. "All the three ends", says he, "are interdependent. Too much attention to any one of these is not good. One should follow *Kāma* without violating *Dharma* and *Artha*".¹⁶³ This emphasis on *Dharma* is probably due to the belief that *Dharma* corresponds to the *Sattva guṇa*, *Artha* to the *Rajo guṇa* and *Kāma* to the *Tamo guṇa*.¹⁶⁴

In the Śānti Parva we find a discussion on the *Trivarga*. Once Yudhiṣṭhira asked Vidura and his own four brothers, as to which of these three goals was the highest, which the lower and which the lowest. Vidura opined that *Dharma*

-
162. त्रिवर्गयुक्तः प्रज्ञानामारम्भो भरतर्षभ ।
 धर्मार्थावनुरुध्यन्ते त्रिवर्गसम्भवे नराः ॥
 पृथक् च विनिविष्टानां धर्मं धीरोऽनुरुध्यते ।
 मध्यमोऽर्थं कलिं बालः काममेवानुरुध्यते ॥
 इन्द्रियैः प्राकृतो लोभाद् धर्मं विप्रजहाति यः ।
 कामार्थावनुपायेन लिप्समानो विनश्यति ॥
 Ibid., Udyoga, CXXIV, 34-6.

163. धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत ॥ न निःसुखं स्यात् ॥ समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्योन्यानुबन्धम् ॥
 एको ह्यत्यासेवितां धर्मकामार्थमात्मानमितरौ च पीडयति ॥
Arthaśāstra, Bk. I, Chap. 7, 6-9.
 धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत ।
 Ibid., XV, 1, 22.
164. तमसो लक्षणं कामो रजसस्त्वर्थ उच्यते ।
 सत्त्वस्य लक्षणं धर्मः श्रेष्ठ्यमेषां यथोत्तरम् ॥
Manu, XII, 38.

was the most important and hence, the highest, *Artha* was second and *Kāma* was the lowest. Therefore, one should practise penance, renunciation, sacrificial rites, forgiveness, kindness, truthfulness and restraint, which he regarded as the source and basis of *Dharma* and *Artha*. He concluded by saying that one should concentrate mainly on *Dharma*.¹⁶⁵ The next speaker was Arjuna, who regarded *Artha* as the foremost in point of merit, because it was *Artha*, which assisted the observance of *Dharma* and *Kāma*. He quoted the authority of the Vedas, which laid down that *Dharma* and *Kāma* were just the two aspects of *Artha*. It was *Artha*, which made possible the unobstructed completion of all the actions.¹⁶⁶ Thus, Arjuna was a vindicator of the *Arthaśāstric* school. Nakula and Sahadeva agreed with Arjuna in maintaining the superiority of *Artha*. They argued that one should try his best to earn money, required for fulfilling all sorts of desires. But wealth should be earned righteously and should be in accordance with the precepts of morality. One should keep one's mind under restraint, give preference to *Dharma* and attain *Artha*, without transgressing *Dharma*. First of all one should practise *Dharma*, then he should give attention to *Artha* and in the end, *Kāma* should be practised, without opposing *Dharma* and *Artha*.¹⁶⁷ Bhīmasena advocated the supremacy of *Kāma*. He argued that desire was the motive factor that set one to practise the different ends of life. It was due to desire that sages practised penance, people learnt the Vedas and the Upaniṣads and engaged themselves in the different works. *Kāma* was the essence of *Dharma* and *Artha* like butter, the essence of curd. *Kāma* was superior to *Dharma* and *Artha*, like clarified butter, better than sour

165. *Mbh.* Śānti, CLXVII, 5-9.

166. *Ibid.*, CLXVII, 12-5.

167. *Ibid.*, CLXVII, 22-7.

milk, oil, better than the oil-seeds, flowers and fruits, better than wood, and honey, better than flowers. *Kāma* was the source of *Dharma* and *Artha*.¹⁶⁸ Although Bhīma assigned the highest place to *Kāma*, he thought that one, who devoted himself only to one of these three ends, was the lowest, he, who devoted himself to two ends, was the middling, and he was the best, who paid due attention to the triple goals.¹⁶⁹ Lastly, Yudhiṣṭhira expressed his opinion. He said that one should adopt the attitude of equality and avoid attachment, if desirous of attaining salvation. According to him one could attain salvation even without observing *Trivarga*.¹⁷⁰ This view of Yudhiṣṭhira, however, should not be taken to discourage the observance of *Trivarga*, because generally the Epic advocates the view that these triple ends of life are very important and hence, should not be neglected.

Dandanīti in Relation to Trivarga : According to the Mahābhārata, *Dandanīti* was closely related with *Trivarga*. In an account of the origin of *Dandanīti* its composition is attributed to Brahmā. The list of subjects dealt with in that treatise includes *Trivarga*, the threefold pursuit of life.¹⁷¹ This treatise aimed at the realisation of the *Trivarga*.¹⁷² In the Śānti Parva also it is said that *Dandanīti*, composed by seven sages, dealt with *Trivarga* as well as with salvation.¹⁷³

168. Ibid., CLXVII, 29-31, 34-6.

169. धर्मार्थकामाः सममेव सेव्याः योऽह्येकमवतः स नरो जघन्यः ।
तयोस्तु दाक्ष्यं प्रवदन्ति मध्यं स उत्तमो योऽभिरतस्त्रिवर्गे ॥

Ibid., CLXVII, 40.

170. Ibid., CLXVII, 44, 46, 48.

171. ततोऽध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।

यत्र धर्मस्तथैवार्थः कामश्चैवामिर्वर्णितः ॥ Ibid., LIX, 29.

172. Supra, pp. 38 ff.

173. तत्र धर्मार्थकामा हि मोक्षः पश्चाच्च कीर्तितः ।

Ibid., Śānti, CCCXXXV, 38 ff.

It was on *Danḍanīti* that these ends of life depended.¹⁷⁴ Brhaspati also is a vindicator of the close relationship between the two. Hence, he says that the realisation of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* is the result of *Danḍanīti*.¹⁷⁵ Kauṭilya says that *Arthaśāstra* protects (by creating conditions, suitable for their observance).¹⁷⁶ *Nītiśāstra*, in the opinion of Śukra, is the root of these three ends and ultimately, it leads to salvation.¹⁷⁷ The realisation of these is the end of the state in the words of Somadeva Sūri.¹⁷⁸

The Mahābhārata strongly advises a king to practise these ends and to maintain secrecy thereabout.¹⁷⁹ Bhīṣma tells Yudhiṣṭhira that a king should follow the *Trivarga* in proper time and order. He should be righteous, because a righteous king rules over this earth for a long time.¹⁸⁰

174. त्रिवर्गो हि समासक्तो राजधर्मेषु कौरव ।

मोक्षधर्मश्च विस्पष्टः सकलोऽत्र समाहितः ॥ *Ibid.*, LVI, 4.

दण्डे त्रिवर्गः सततं सुप्रणीते प्रवर्तते ॥ *Ibid.*, CXXI, 14.

175. नीतेः फलं धर्मार्थकामावाप्तिः ।

Brhaspati Sūtra, II, 43. Teste Dikshitar : *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 27.

176. एवं शास्त्रमिदं युक्तमेताभिस्तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः ।

अवाप्तौ पालने चोक्तां लोकस्यास्य परस्य च ॥

धर्ममर्थं च कामं च प्रवर्तयति पाति च ।

अधर्मानर्थविद्वेषान् शास्त्रं निहन्ति च ॥

Arthaśāstra, Bk. XV, I, 78-9.

177. सर्वोपजीवकं लोकस्थितिकृत्नीतिशास्त्रकम् ।

धर्मार्थकाममूलं हि स्मृतं मोक्षप्रदं यतः ॥ *Śukra*, I, 5.

178. धर्मार्थकामफलाय राज्याय नमः । *Nītivākyaṃṛta*, I, p. 7.

179. करिष्यन्न प्रभाषेत कृतान्येव तु दर्शयेत् ।

धर्मकामार्थकार्याणि.....॥

Mbh. Udyoga, XXXVIII, 16-7.

180. धर्मश्चार्थश्च कामश्च सेवितव्योऽथ कालतः ।

धर्मेण च महीपालश्चिरं पालयते महीम् ॥ *Ibid.*, LXIX, 70.

That the *Trivarga* played an important role in the life of a king is corroborated by the *Sabhā Parva* also. Nārada went to the court of Yudhiṣṭhira. After being properly received and respected by the Pāṇḍavas, Nārada began his teachings by putting questions about *Trivarga*. Said he, “Do you find pleasure in being devoted to *Dharma*? Do you sacrifice *Artha* and *Kāma* for the sake of *Dharma* or do you cause *Dharma* and *Artha* to suffer on account of extreme devotion to *Kāma*? Are you aware of the order, prescribed for practising the *Trivarga* and do you practise it in proper time?”¹⁸¹ These questions lead us to the conclusion that the *Trivarga* was equally important for kings and the ordinary people.

In the *Śānti Parva*¹⁸² Bhīṣma refers to a dialogue once held between sage Kāmandaka and a king named Aṅgariṣṭha. Answering the enquiry made by the latter, the former said, “A king ruins his power by practising *Kāma* in excess and by neglecting *Dharma* and *Artha*. By not following the *Trivarga* properly, he encourages the wicked and unrighteous people. His subjects do not obey him. He is dethroned or even killed by his subjects. To repent for his misconduct, the king should censure his sinful deeds, study the *Vedas*, respect the *Brāhmaṇas*, devote himself to *Dharma*, practise *Gāyatrī mantra* and live in the company of noble persons”. In the *Udyoga Parva*, Vidura advises a king, desirous of capturing his enemy, to pursue these ends properly.¹⁸³ He lays emphasis on the knowledge of scriptures also, because

181. Ibid., *Sabhā*, V, 16-7, 19-20.

Cf. धर्मं चार्थं च कामं च यथावद् वदतां वर ।

विभज्य काले कालज्ञः सर्वान् सेवेत पण्डितः ॥

Ibid., *Vana*, XXXIII, 42.

182. Chapter CXXIII.

183. Ibid., *Udyoga*, XXXIX, 41.

without it, even men like Bṛhaspati can not have a clear understanding of the *Trivarga*.¹⁸⁴ He should bear in mind, their relative importance and pay more attention towards *Dharma* and *Artha*,¹⁸⁵ “the two pillars on which the edifice of the state was raised in ancient India. It is a commonplace in the Sinhalese Jātaka to state that the councillors advised the king on *Artha* and *Dharma*”.¹⁸⁶

Similar ideas have been expressed by Kāmandaka who says that a just king, devoted to *Trivarga* protects himself and his people.¹⁸⁷ The *Trivarga* increases if the king wields the rod of chastisement properly.¹⁸⁸ He even allows him to levy taxes for the cause of these ends.¹⁸⁹

To take a resume, *Danḍanīti*, as conceived in the Mahābhārata was connected with *Trivarga* and aimed at the realisation of *Dharma*, the basis of the state and the three ends as well. There were two schools of thought—The *Dharmaśāstric* and the *Arthaśāstric*. Though *Dharma* was assigned a secondary place in the latter school, yet it was always to be borne in mind that the boundaries of *Dharma* should not be transgressed.

The king has been advised repeatedly to follow *Dharma* because the king and *Dharma* were deemed to be reciprocally protective. Without the help of *Danḍanīti*, *Trivarga* could

184. त्रिवर्गाचरणे युक्तः स शत्रूनघितिष्ठति । Ibid., 40.

185. Ibid., Sānti, CXXXIV, 1.

186. S. Paramavitana : Some Aspects of Divinity of Kings in Ancient India and Ceylon, *Proceedings and Transactions of All-India Oriental Conference*, XVI Session, p. 231.

187. *Kāmandaka*, I, 31.

188. त्रिवर्गं वर्धयत्याशु राज्ञो दण्डो यथानिधिः । Ibid., II, 38°

189. आददीत धनं काले त्रिवर्गपरिवृद्धये । Ibid., V, 83°

not be realised and without its realisation the fourth *puruṣārtha* namely *mokṣa* (salvation) was impossible. The complete reliance on *Danḍanīti* by the monarch resulted in the *Satya* or the *Kṛta* Age, wherein *Dharma* predominated. Such a close relation between *Danḍanīti* and *Dharma* leads us to the conclusion that the ancient Indian states aimed at the attainment of the highest moral standards, both by the king and the people.

CHAPTER III DHARMA (ETHICS)

Ancient Indian thinkers did not mark off the sphere of law, religion and ethics. In the Mahābhārata the same tendency is noticeable, although, there are many discussions about the rules of moral conduct and their applicability to the various stations in life. In conformity with the tendency of not dealing with ethics as a separate branch of knowledge, the ancient Indian literature lacks a precise and specific terminology for ethics. The following words can, however, be interpreted to denote what we call ethics to-day.

Nīti or *Nītiśāstra* generally used for politics¹ have been used in the sense of ethics also. Vidura-nīti, i.e. the ethical discourses of Vidura, is an example of its latter meaning.

Ācāra or *Sadācāra*, meaning conduct and good conduct can be taken to stand for ethics. *Ācāra* is a characteristic or sign (*lakṣaṇa*) of *Dharma*.² It is also the foundation of the latter. According to the Udyoga Parva, *Dharma* results

1. Vide Supra, Chap. II, pp 34-6.

2. आचारलक्षणो धर्मः सन्तश्चारित्रलक्षणाः ।
साधूनां च यथा वृत्तमेतदाचारलक्षणम् ॥
Mbh, Anuśāsana, CIV, 9.

from *Ācāra*.³ In the Mahābhārata *Dharma* and *Ācāra* are deemed to be mutually complementary and interdependent. Manu goes to the extent of identifying the two.⁴

Dharma, a word with a very comprehensive import, can be traced back to the Vedic literature, wherein it denotes law and custom.⁵ In the Mahābhārata it has been used in different senses. When it is said that a particular person should do a particular act because it is his *Dharma*, the word means duty. *Rāja-dharma* (duties of the rulers), *Prajā-dharma* (duties of the subjects) and *Mitra-dharma* (duties of a friend) are a few examples of this use of the term. It stands for the code of conduct in the case of *Deśa-dharma*, *Kula-dharma*, *Jāti-dharma*, *Varṇa-dharma* and *Āśrama-dharma*. It denotes virtue and righteousness when used with reference to the *Trivarga*. Whatever be the meaning of the term in a particular context, it always imposes certain limitations on human conduct. Ethics does the same. As pointed out by Sukthankar, it has, at its basis, a "belief in the conservation of moral values"⁶ and it "presupposes an eternal moral order."⁷

Dharma, as Interpreted by Modern Scholars : There is no word in English language which conveys exactly the same sense as the word *Dharma*. Due to its untranslatability and comprehensive import, it has been variously interpreted by

3. आचारः फलते धर्मः । Ibid., Udyoga, CXI, 15.

धर्मस्य निष्ठा त्वाचारः । Ibid., CLIX, 6.

4. आचारः परमो धर्मः । I, 108.

5. *Rgveda*. I, 22, 18; 164, 43, 50; III, 3, 1; 17, 1, 60, 6; V. 26, 6; 63, 7, 72, 2 etc. *Atharva Veda*, XIV, 5, 51; *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, X, 29; XV, 6; XX, 9; XXX, 6. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, III, 5, 2, 2. Teste Macdonell and Keith : *Vedic Index* (1912), p. 390.

6. *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, p. 80.

7. Ibid.

modern scholars. Giving an ethical interpretation of *Dharma*, B. G. Tilak says that it implies the "path leading to next-worldly happiness.....Ethics may be given the name of *Dharma*".⁸ E. W. Hopkins says that it means "ethical good usage" and "implies in itself a code of conduct to avoid all crimes, murder, adultery, theft etc. to avoid no less spiritual sins, arrogance, envy, jealousy and...all injury to others".⁹ In the words of J. S. Mckenzie "the term *Dharma* covers not only conduct but the whole conglomeration of forms of conduct that were settled or established".¹⁰ Dr. Bhagawan Das thinks it to be an ethico-religious conception, which includes "religion, rites, piety, specific property, function etc. but above all the Duty, incumbent on man...in the situation he may be in".¹¹ He further says that "*Dharma* is characteristic property, scientifically ; duty morally and legally ; religion with all its implications psycho-physically and spiritually; and righteousness and law generally, but duty above all".¹² According to A. K. Sen it is "an admixture of socio-ethical religious ideas, not a purely religious concept".¹³ Rādhākṛishnan opines that *Dharma* is the stable condition, capable of giving perfect satisfaction to man and of helping him in the attainment of happiness and salvation. Its end, according to him, is the welfare of all creation.¹⁴

8. *Śrī Bhagavadgītā Rahasya* (English Translation by B. S. Sukthankar) Vol. I. p. 88.

9. *Ethics of India*, p. 92.

10. *Hindu Ethics*, p. 51.

11. *The Science of Social Organisation*, (1910), p. 7.

12. *The Science of Social Organisation*, (1910) pp. 49-50. Teste Mees : *Dharma and Society*, p. 11. and Sukthankar : *On the Meaning of the Māhābhārata*, p. 81.

13. *Hindu Political Thought*, p. 4.

14. *Indian Philosophy* (1929), Vol. I, pp. 505-6.

P. V. Kane interprets it as the "mode of life or a code of conduct".¹⁵ To quote H. N. Sinha, "*Dharma* may bear the interpretation of customs and usage, both sacred and secular in society".¹⁶ J. J. Anjaria says that it stands for social law, duty, custom, religion or religious merit.¹⁷ It is the "principle that holds together the whole universe, physical as well as moral. Hence, the word *Dharma* comes to mean, firstly, the cosmic order and secondly, the law, governing human society".¹⁸ To quote H. D. Bhattacharya, it is the "ideal in conduct towards which we must move in order to perfect ourselves spiritually".¹⁹ Chandravarkar regards it as standing for "right thought, right word and right deed".²⁰ V. Raghavan remarks, "the scope of the concept of *Dharma* is universal and comprehends even the personal habits of hygiene, details of courteous behaviour and moral endowments, duties of kings and the administration of justice and the seeking of summum bonum, spiritual realisation".²¹ To quote G. H. Mees, *Dharma* is the "fundamental motive force in the life of man as a social being".²² It is the "underlying motive principle in the social evolution of humanity towards the manifestation and demonstration of the soul, or in other words, of the basic oneness of mankind".²³ It signified *Vedic Rta*, the ethical duty, virtue,

15. *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, p. 2.

16. *Sovereignty in Ancient India*, p. 27.

17. *Nature and Ground of Political Obligation in the Hindu State*, p. 147.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

19. The Meaning of Dharma, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All India Oriental Conference*, 1937, p. 653.

20. *A Manual of Hindu Ethics*, Introduction, p. VIII.

21. *The Indian Heritage*, Introduction, p. XXXIX.

22. *Dharma and Society*, Preface, p. XII.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

good works, religious duty and justice, the ideal, the God or the Absolute truth, Divine Justice, convention, a code of customs and traditions, common law, international or inter-tribal law and a compromise between the actual and the ideal condition.²⁴ B. K. Sarkar, however, explains it as “law, justice, duty, culture and what not”.²⁵

The above-mentioned quotations make it clear that many scholars have tried to interpret *Dharma* from one angle or the other and there is nothing to prove these meanings incorrect. To me the most acceptable interpretation is given by the Epic itself. On the basis of its derivation, the Mahābhārata explains *Dharma* as “that, which bears (maintains) society (people, by establishing order).²⁶ To run any human activity smoothly, discipline and certain rules to guide that discipline, are necessary. The concept of *Dharma* meets this fundamental requirement, by prescribing certain duties and principles of morality, for improving the general behaviour of man.

Sources of Dharma : The most important sources of *Dharma*, referred to in ancient Indian works are *Śruti* (the Vedas), *Smṛti* (*Dharmaśāstra* works), *Sadācāra* (conduct of the noble people) and *ātma-tuṣṭi* (self-satisfaction).²⁷ Gautama mentions

24. Ibid., p. 8.

25. Theory of Constitution in Hindu Political Philosophy, *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*. Pt. II, p. 502. See also his *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus*, pp. 206 ff. and L. D. Joshi: *Vaidika Samskṛti kā Vikāśa* (Translated by M. D. Paradakar, Bombay, 1957), p. 99.

26. धारणाद्धर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ।
यत्स्याद्धारणसंयुक्तं स धर्म इति निश्चयः ।
Mbh. Karṇa, LXIX, 58.

27. वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् ।
आचारश्चैव साधूनां आत्मनो तुष्टिरेव च ॥

the *Vedas* and the understanding and behaviour of those who know it.²⁸ According to *Vaśiṣṭha* the *Vedas* and the *Smṛtis* are more important than the conduct of noble men, which should be relied upon only in their absence.²⁹ The first three sources have been mentioned by *Yājñavalkya*, who refers to the desire, born of proper intention as the fourth source.³⁰

The *Mahābhārata* frequently refers to the *Vedas*, *Smṛtis* and *Sadācāra*.³¹ As regards the relative importance of the *Śrūtis* and *Smṛtis* it has been said in the *Śānti* Parva, “duties have been laid down for the respective ages according to the powers of human beings in the respective ages. When, therefore, all the declarations in the *Vedas* do not apply equally to all the ages, the saying that the declaration of the *Vedas* are true is only a popular form of speech indulged in for popular satisfaction. From the *Śrūtis* have originated the *Smṛtis*, whose scope again is very wide. If the *Vedas* be

वेदः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।

एतच्चतुर्विधं प्राहुः साक्षाद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥ *Manu*, II, 6, 12.

28. वेदो धर्ममूलम् । तद्विदां च स्मृतिशीले । *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, I, 1-2, cf. धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च । *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, I, 1, 1, 2.

29. श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः । तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम् । शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा । *Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*, I, 4-6.

30. श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।

सम्यक् संकल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् । I, 7.

31. वेदोक्तः परमो धर्मः धर्मशास्त्रेषु चापरः ।

शिष्टाचारश्च शिष्टानां त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥ *Mbb. Vana*, CCVII, 83.

वेदोक्तः परमो धर्मः स्मृतिशास्त्रगतो परः ।

शिष्टाचीर्णः परः प्रोक्तस्त्रयो धर्माः सनातनाः ॥ *Ibid.*, *Anuśāsana*, CXLI, 65

ततः स धर्म वेदोक्तं तथा शास्त्रोक्तमेव च ।

शिष्टाचीर्णश्च धर्मश्च त्रिविधं चिन्त्य चेतसा ॥ *Ibid.*, *Śānti*, CCCLIII, 6.

महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥ *Ibid.*, *Vana*, CCCXII, 117.

authority for everything, then authority would attach to the *Smṛtis* also for the latter are based on the former. When, however, the *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis* contradict each other, how can either be authoritative".³²

Another interesting piece of information also is from the *Śānti Parva*. Therein we are told that in case, there is some doubt about *Dharma*, ten or three scholars having a thorough knowledge of the *Vedas* should be asked to decide the matter.³³

Classification of Dharma : *Dharma* has been classified in more than one way. Thus, on the basis of its sources it has been classified under the heads of *Śrauta*, i. e., *Vedic dharma* and *Smārta* i. e., *dharma* based on *Smṛtis* and *Śiṣṭācāraṇa* or the conduct of the noble men.³⁴ At another place the classification of *Dharma* is three-fold namely *Deśa-dharma* (*dharma* for a particular country or place), *Jāti-dharma* (*dharma* for a particular caste or class) and *Kula-dharma* (*dharma* or the

32. अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मस्त्रेतायां द्वापरे परे ।
 अन्ये कलियुगे धर्मा यथाशक्ति कृता इव ॥
 आम्नायवचनं सत्यमित्ययं लोकसंग्रहः ।
 आम्नायेभ्यः परं वेदाः प्रसृता विश्वतोमुखाः ॥
 ते चेत्सर्वे प्रमाणं वै प्रमाणं तन्न विद्यते ।
 प्रमाणे चाप्रमाणे च विरोधे शास्त्रता कुतः ॥ Ibid., (Critical Ed. CCLII, 8-10., P. C. Ray's rendering adopted.

33. दश वा वेदशास्त्रज्ञास्त्रयो वा धर्मपाठकाः ।
 यद्ब्रूयुः कार्यं उत्पन्ने स धर्मो धर्मसंशयो ॥ Ibid., (Critical Edition), XXXVII, 15.

34. श्रुतिधर्म इति ह्येके नेत्याहुस्परं जनाः ।
 Ibid., *Śānti*, CIX, 13.
 cf. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I, 1, 1-4; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 145, 20-21;
Vāyu Purāṇa, 59, 31-2 and 39; *Vaśiṣṭha*, I, 4-5.

tradition belonging to one's own family).³⁵ A more comprehensive classification of *Dharma* is given by the *Mitākṣarā*. Therein *Dharma* is sixfold.³⁶

It is obvious from the above-mentioned account that the moral standard varies in accordance with persons, circumstances, place and time. It can be classified under two heads, viz. *Sāmānya* or *Sādhāraṇa* or *Nitya Dharma*, i. e., the universal code of morality and *Viśiṣṭa Dharma*, i. e., the specific moral code e. g. *Varṇa Dharma* (the code of conduct for the different *Varṇas*), *Āśrama Dharma* (code of conduct for the different *āśramas*), *Guṇa Dharma* (moral code, prescribed for a particular office), *Naimittika Dharma* (expiatory and occasional duties), *Āpaddharma* (code laid down for the times of distress) and *Yuga Dharma* (code for the different ages).

35. देशजातिकुलानां च धर्मज्ञोऽस्मि जनार्दन ।

Mbh. Śānti, LIV, 20. See also *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma, III, 55.

36. The *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya*, (Ed. S. S. Setlur, Madras, 1912), I, 1. says,

धर्मशब्दः षड्विधस्मार्तधर्मविषयः । तद्यथा वर्णधर्मः आश्रमधर्मः

वर्णाश्रमधर्मः गुणधर्मः निमित्तधर्मश्चेति ॥

Cf. *Kullūka* on *Manu*, II, 25.

‘वर्णधर्म’ शब्दश्च वर्णधर्माश्रमधर्मगुणधर्मनैमित्तिकधर्माणामुपलक्षकः । ते च भविष्यपुराणोक्ताः—‘वर्णधर्मः स्मृतस्त्वेक आश्रमाणामतः परम् । वर्णाश्रमस्तृतीयस्तु गौणो नैमित्तिकस्तदा ॥ वर्णत्वमेकमाश्रित्य यो धर्मः संप्रवर्तते । वर्णधर्मः स उक्तस्तु यथोपनयनं नृपः ॥ यस्त्वाश्रमं समाश्रित्य अधिकारः प्रवर्तते । स खत्वाश्रमधर्मस्तु मिक्षादण्डादिको यथा ॥ वर्णत्वमाश्रमत्वं च योऽधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते । स वर्णाश्रमधर्मस्तु मौजीया मेखला यथा ॥ यो गुणेन प्रवर्तते गुणधर्मः स उच्यते । यथा मूर्धाभिषिक्तस्य प्रजानां परिपालनम् ॥ निमित्तमेकमाश्रित्य यो धर्मः संप्रवर्तते । नैमित्तिकः स विज्ञेयः प्रायश्चित्तविधिर्यथा ॥

Manu (Ed. N. R. Āchārya, Bombay, 1946), p. 38. *Medhātithi* on *Manu*, II, 25 says :

इह पंच प्रकारे धर्म इति विवरणकाराः प्रपंचयन्ति ।

Sādhāraṇa Dharma (Universal Moral Code) : *Sādhāraṇa Dharma* means the moral code, common to all humanity. This universal code consists of the moral virtues, to be observed by everybody, to whatever caste or creed, he or she may belong. The Mahābhārata has many discourses on moral virtues scattered throughout. The value of these qualities is recognised and emphasised by all religions. Some important moral virtues are given below :

Satya (truthfulness) is one of the fundamental essentials of moral life as pictured in the Great Epic. It is the highest duty and there is nothing higher than this.³⁷ It is at the basis of everything.³⁸ and leads to prosperity.³⁹ Its importance lies in the belief that it purifies the mind.⁴⁰ One should win over untruth by truth.⁴¹ In the *Śānti* Parva Bhṛgu gives in details, the merits of *Satya* and condemns *asatya*.⁴² Side by side with this emphasis on *Satya* the Mahābhārata mentions such occasions also when untruth is to be given preference over truth. Resort to falsehood is allowed when one's life is in risk, on the occasion of marriage, for the protection of wealth for the cause of *Dharma*, when wealth has been taken away, with ladies, for the sake of

37. नास्ति सत्यसमो धर्मो न सत्याद् विद्यते परम् ।

Mbh., Ādi, LXXIV, 105.

सत्यस्य वचनं साधु न सत्याद् विद्यते परम् । *Ibid.*, Śānti, CIX, 4.

नास्ति सत्यात् परो धर्मः । *Ibid.*, CCCXLII, 18.

See also *Ibid.*, Vana, XXXIV, 22.

38. *Ibid.*, Śānti, CCLIX, 10; CXCIX, 65.

39. सर्वं सत्येन वर्धते ।

Ibid., CXCIX, 70. See also *Ibid.*, CIX, 1ff and *Ibid.*, CXCIX, 65-9

40. मनः सत्येन शुध्यति । *Manu*, V, 109.

41. जयेत् कदर्यं दानेन सत्येनानृतवादिनम् ।

क्षमया क्रूरकर्माणमसाधुं साधुना जयेत् ॥ *Mbh.* Vana, CXCIV, 6

42. *Ibid.*, Śānti, CXC, 1-5.

the preceptor,⁴³ when truth assumes the aspect of untruth and when truth is dissociated from righteousness.⁴⁴ Gautama allows falsehood for the sake of saving a good man's life and prohibits its employment for the sake of a wicked person.⁴⁵ In his opinion an infant, old man, idiot, intoxicated, insane, angry and frightened persons are not associated with sin even if they speak a lie.⁴⁶ Manu favours the sweet truth and is against the pleasing untruth.⁴⁷ To be brief, truth under all circumstances is preferable to falsehood, but it is permissible to indulge in falsehood under some circumstances.

Abimsā (Non-violence) as understood by the ancient Indians, meant the practice of love, which consisted in not hurting others by thought, word or act (*manasā, vācā* and *karmanā*). Having good feelings for others also came under its connotation. The Mahābhārata emphasises it at several places.⁴⁸

Brahmacarya (Celibacy) has been explained as discipline and control over the sense organs. By leading the life of celibacy, self-discipline and continence, dedicated to higher pursuits, one overcomes all difficulties.⁴⁹

43. न नर्मयुक्तं वचनं हिनस्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन्न विवाहकाले ।

न गुर्वर्थं नात्मनो जीवितार्थं पञ्चानृतान्यादुरपातकानि ॥

Ibid., CLXV, 30; See also Ibid., Ādi, LXXXII, 16-7; Śānti, CIX, 19-20.

44. Ibid., CIX, 5-6.

45. *Gautama*, XIII.

46. Ibid., V.

47. IV, 138.

48. अहिंसा परमो धर्मः सर्वप्राणभृतां वर । *Mbh.* Ādi, XI, 13.

न भूतानामहिंसायाज्यायान् धर्मास्ति कश्चन ॥

Ibid., Śānti, CCLXII, 2.

For details, See Buch : *Principles of Hindu Ethics*, pp. 443-67.

49. ये तपश्च तूपस्यन्ति कौमारब्रह्मचारिणः ।

विद्यावेदव्रतस्नात्तु दुर्गाण्यावतरन्ति ते ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, CX, 14.

Dama (Control over the sense-organs) also has been emphasised in the Epic. The importance of the Bhagavadgītā, a section of the Mahābhārata, can hardly be exaggerated so far as this moral virtue is concerned. Therein Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna that the sensory organs should be completely checked.⁵⁰ Even attachment towards their objects should be shunned. One, who controls his acts and thinks of the sensory objects, is a hypocrite (*mithyācāra*) and one having control in every respect, deserves praise.⁵¹ While describing the attributes of *Sthitaprajña* and *Guṇātīta*, the ideal man of the Gītā, this moral quality has always been referred to.⁵² One should draw in the sense-organs from their objects like a tortoise that draws in its limbs.⁵³ Vidura compares the human body with a *ratha* (chariot), *Sattva* (the living principle) with its charioteer, sensory organs with horses and *buddhi* (intelligence) with the reins. One, who does not control these horses can not be free from the bondage of birth and death.⁵⁴

50. Ibid., Bhīṣma, XXVI, 14.

51. कर्मेन्द्रियाणि संयम्य य आस्ते मनसा स्मरन् ।

इन्द्रियाणि विमूढात्मा मिथ्याचारः स उच्यते ॥

यस्त्विन्द्रियाणि मनसा संयम्यारभतेऽर्जुन ।

कर्मेन्द्रियैः कर्मयोगमसक्तः स विशिष्यते ॥ Ibid., XXVII, 6-7.

52. Ibid., XXVI, 55, 58-61; XXXVIII, 25.

53. Ibid., XXVI, 58. See also Ibid., Śānti, CCXX, 2-17.

54. रथः शरीरं भूतानां सत्त्वमाहुस्तु सारथिम् ।

इन्द्रियाणि ह्यानाहुः कर्मबुद्धिस्तु रश्मयः ॥

तेषां ह्यानां यो वेगं धावतामनुधावति ।

स तु संसारचक्रेऽस्मिंश्चक्रवत् परिवर्तते ॥ Ibid., Strī, VII, 13-4.

Cf. आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि शरीरं रथमेव च ।

बुद्धिं तु सारथिं विद्धि मनः प्रग्रहमेव च ॥

Kaṭhapaniṣad, I, III, 3.

Kṣamā (forgiveness), specially in the persons possessing power, is praiseworthy.⁵⁵ Only deserving persons should be forgiven and never the wicked ones.⁵⁶ Forgiveness should be accompanied by discrimination.

Yudhiṣṭhira speaks highly of *Kṣamā*. According to him, everybody should have this virtue because victory favours him, who is possessed of *Kṣamā*. Referring to the view of Kaśyapa, he says, "Forgiveness is *Dharma*, sacrifice (*yajña*), the *Vedas*, knowledge, the *Brahman*, truth (*satya*), penance (*tapas*) and purity (*śauca*). The universe is held together because of forgiveness. He is indeed a wise man, who forgives even those, who insult, rebuke and beat him. One possessed of *Kṣamā* attains *Brahman*. He receives honour here and acquires a state of blessedness hereafter. Hence, it is the highest virtue."⁵⁷

Regard for mother, father and preceptor is an important duty of everyone. By disregarding these persons one is called the greatest sinner.⁵⁸ Their worship, it is believed, helps one in gaining fame here, and the desired *lokas* (regions), hereafter.⁵⁹ These three should not be killed even if they be harmful.⁶⁰ The *Mahābhārata* is in favour of respecting all the elders, because their insult ruins even the powerful

55. न दुष्करमिदं पुत्र यत्प्रभुर्वातयेत्परम् ।

श्लाघनीया यशस्या च लोके प्रभवतां क्षमा ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, CXI, 68.

56. *Ibid.*, CII, 29.

57. *Ibid.*, Vana, XXIX, 13-4, 31-3, 36-44.

58. *Ibid.*, Śānti, CVIII, 30.

59. मातापित्रोर्गुरुणां च पूजा बहुमता मम ।

इह युक्तो नरो लोकान् यज्ञश्च महदश्नुते ॥

Ibid., CVIII, 3. See also *Ibid.*, III, 28; CCXCII, 22-3.

Cf. *Manu*, II, 226, 228-9.

60. अवध्या हि सदा माता पिता चाप्यपकारिणो ॥

Mbh. Śānti, CVIII, 20.

kings.⁶¹ Two whole chapters are devoted to this topic in the Mahābhārata.⁶²

Śīla (Good behaviour) consists of abstention from animosity (*adroha*) in thought, word and deed, compassion (*amugraha*) and donation (*dāna*).⁶³ The importance of *śīla* lies in the belief that *Dharma*, *Satya* (truth) and *Vṛtta* (conduct) are dependent upon it.⁶⁴ This is illustrated in the legend of Prahlāda, who was deprived of all the moral virtues, because he gave away his *śīla* to Indra in the disguise of a *Brāhmaṇa*.⁶⁵ Dhṛtarāṣṭra stresses the importance of *śīla* for becoming successful in life.⁶⁶ Bhartṛhari holds it in a high esteem by describing it as the best ornament.⁶⁷

Madhura Vacana (Agreeable speech) helps one to be respectable. Even while making a gift, one should utter sweet words. The fact that one complete chapter⁶⁸ has been devoted to it, shows clearly the importance attached to it.

Saraṇāgata-rakṣā (Protecting a suppliant) has been prescribed for kings as well as commoners. The house-holders are specially asked to do so.⁶⁹ One who kills his suppliant, can not attain salvation.⁷⁰ Its non-observance associates kings

61. Ibid., Sabhā, XXII, 24.

62. Ibid., Śānti, Chap. CVIII; Anuśāsana, Chap. XXXI. See also Buch: *Principles of Hindu Ethics*, pp. 143-5 and 268-94.

63. *Mbh.* Śānti, CXXIV, 66.

64. धर्मः सत्यं तथा वृत्तं बलं चैव तथाप्यहम् ।

शीलमूला महाप्राज्ञ सदा नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ Ibid., CXXIV, 62.

65. For this legend, vide Ibid., Chap. CXXIV.

66. न हि किञ्चिदसाध्यं वै लोके शीलवतां भवेत् ॥ Ibid., CXXIV, 16.

67. शीलं परं भूषणम् ॥ *Nīṭisataka*, 83.

68. *Mbh.* Śānti, Chap. LXXXIV.

69. शरणागतस्य कर्तव्यं आतिथ्यं हि प्रयत्नतः ।

पञ्चयज्ञप्रवृत्तेन गृहस्थेन विशेषतः ॥ Ibid., CXLVI, 6.

70. न निष्कृतिर्भवेतस्य यो हन्याच्छरणागतम् ॥ Ibid., CXLIX, 18.

and princes with a great sin like embryo-cide,⁷¹ whereas giving shelter to a frightened person even for a moment, leads to heaven.⁷² Hence, the suppliants should always be protected.⁷³ The story of Śibi tells us that he cut away flesh from his body, but did not set free the pigeon that had come to the king for shelter. Śibi did so, because he had firmly promised to cherish the suppliants.⁷⁴ Due to this virtue, he attained the Great Good (*Samsiddhi*).⁷⁵ The Epic attaches so much importance to it that it goes to the extent of saying that one should be hospitable even towards an enemy, if the latter asks for shelter. To illustrate this, the Mahābhārata gives the story of a hunter and a pair of pigeons.⁷⁶

Atithi-Sevā (*Hospitality towards a guest*) being one of the *Pañca Mahāyajñas* (five great sacrifices) has been prescribed

71. Ibid., CCCLX, 9.

72. Ibid., LXXV, 34.

73. महान्धर्मो महाराज शरणागतपालने ।

Ibid., CXLIII, 2. See also Ibid., Vana, CCXLIII, 6.

74. शरणागतं न त्यजेयमिति मे व्रतमाहितम् ॥ Ibid., Anuśāsana, XXXII, 19.

75. Ibid., Śānti, CXLIII, 3.

76. It is said that two pigeons were living on a tree. One day a hunter took shelter under that tree against the rains. He imprisoned the she-pigeon. The he-pigeon bewailed the loss of its partner and cried out for her. She replied "I am in the cage of the hunter. He is your guest and treat him like that." At this, the he-pigeon lighted a fire to warm the hunter. It asked him further what else he wanted. The hunter said that he was very hungry. Upon this the pigeon jumped into the fire asking the hunter to eat it up after it was roasted. On seeing this, the she-pigeon expressed a similar desire on account of the death of her husband. This produced the desired effect for the hunter and he gave up his profession from that day. Ibid., Chaps. CXLIII ff.

as a sacred duty.⁷⁷ Even if an enemy happens to go to one's place, he should be received cordially and respected.⁷⁸

The Gautama Dharma sūtra,⁷⁹ the Manu Smṛti,⁸⁰ the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya,⁸¹ the Śukra Nītisāra⁸² and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁸³ also mention these virtues.

In the Śānti Parva,⁸⁴ Yudhiṣṭhira requests Bhīṣma to enumerate the ways to overcome difficulties and adversities. In reply, Bhīṣma refers to some moral virtues and says that those persons free themselves from difficulties and calamities (*durga*), who are self-controlled (*saṃyatātmaṇo*), who do not indulge (extremely) in the objects of sense-objects (*viśayān nigrhanti*), who are not proud (*dam-bhannācaranti*), who are not jealous of other's prosperity (*paraśriyā na tapyante*), who accommodate and accord welcome to guests (*vāsayantyatithīn*), who respect and follow their parents (*mātāpitrośca vṛttim vartante*), who do not commit sins (*pāpam na kurvanti*), who are attached to their own wives (*sveṣu dāreṣu vartante*), who indulge in sexual intercourse only for having children (and not for the sake of enjoyment, *Santānārtham ca maithunam*), who perform sacrifices (*agnihotraaparāḥ*), who speak truth (*vadantīha satyāni*), who shun anger (*krodham sanniyacchanti*), who avoid sweets (*madhu*), meat (*māṃsa*) and wine (*madya*), who speak sweet words

77. Ibid., Anuśāsana, VII, 12, For details vide Ibid., II, 41 ff.

Cf. धन्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं स्वर्ग्यं वातिथिपूजनम् ॥ *Manu* III, 106.

78. अरावप्युचितं कार्यं आतिथ्यं गृहमागते ।

Mbh. Śānti, CXLVI, 5.

79. VIII, 20-21.

80. VI, 92; X, 63.

81. *Arthaśāstra* (Trans. by R. Shamasastri, fifth Edition), pp. 7, 10.

82. III, 1 ff.

83. XI, 17, 21.

84. Chap. CX.

(*yeṣām vācaśca smṛtā*), who do not do to others what is disagreeable to themselves, i.e. who treat others in the way they want themselves to be treated (*yeṣām ātmasamo loko*)⁸⁵ and in whom the *Sattva guṇa* is predominant.

Viśiṣṭa Dharma stands for the *Dharma*, specifically laid down for different persons or groups of persons, under different circumstances, as has been shown below.

Varṇa Dharma (Injunctions prescribed for the members of the different *Varṇas*) : The Hindu society consisted of four classes known as *Varṇa*, down from the Vedic times, as is evidenced by the *Puruṣa Sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda*.⁸⁶ The four *varṇas* are *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra*. The ancient Indian writers laid down specific and different codes for their conduct. According to the *Bhagavadgītā*, a section of the *Mahābhārata*, specific duties of the four *Varṇas* have been fixed in accordance with their inherent nature (*prakṛti*).⁸⁷ The duties of the four *Varṇas*, as given in the *Mahābhārata* are given below :

Specific Code for the Brāhmaṇas : The specific duties of the *Brāhmaṇas* have been frequently mentioned in the *Epic*.⁸⁸ They should observe fasts, attend religious discourses, follow the injunctions of the *Vedas*, have control over their sense-organs, devote themselves to study, teach others, accept

85. न तत्परेषु कुर्वीत जानन्नप्रियमात्मनः । Ibid., CCLIX, 20.

आत्मौपम्येन पुरुषः प्रमाणमधिगच्छति ॥ Ibid., Anuśāsana, CXIII, 9.
86. X, 90, 12.

87. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशानां शूद्राणां च परंतप ।
कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैः गुणैः ॥
Mbh. Bhīṣma, XLII, 41.

88. Ibid., Udyoga, XL, 25; XLIII, 20ff; Śānti, LX, 8-12; Chaps. LXII—LXIII; CLXXXIX, 2-4; CCXXXIV; CCCXXVI, 13ff; Anuśāsana, CXLI, 67-9.

gifts, practise penance and be compassionate. Kṛṣṇa says in the Bhagavadgītā, "The inherently natural duties of a Brāhmin⁸⁹ are peace, self-restraint, religious austerities, cleanliness, quietness, straightforwardness (humility), knowledge (that is, spiritual knowledge), *vijñāna* (that is, Imperial knowledge), and *āstikya buddhi* (that is, belief in a future world)"⁹⁰. The *Brāhmaṇas* should pay due attention to these duties and observe the universal moral code (*Sādhāraṇa dharma*).

Specific code for the Kṣatriyas : According to the Bhagavadgītā "The inherent natural duty (*Karma*) of the Kṣatriyas is bravery, brilliance, courage, intentness, not running away from the battle, generosity and exercising authority (over subject people)."⁹¹ Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya opines, that studying the *Vedas*, making gifts and capturing wealth constitute the main duties of the Kṣatriyas.⁹² According to Vidura, a Kṣatriya goes to heaven by studying the *Vedas*, protecting the subjects, performing sacrifices and dying in the battle-field.⁹³ Although the Mahābhārata appreciates giant's strength as a good quality in the Kṣatriyas, it says that it

89. SIC.

90. शमो दमस्तपः शौचं क्षान्तिरार्जवमेव च ।

ज्ञानं विज्ञानमास्तिक्यं ब्रह्मकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥

Ibid., Bhīṣma, XLII, 42.

Tilak's rendering adopted.

91. शौर्यं तेजो धृतिर्दक्षिणं युद्धे चाप्यपलायनम् ।

दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षात्रकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥

Ibid., XLII, 43. Tilak's rendering adopted.

92. क्षत्रजं सेवते कर्म वेदाध्ययनसंगतः ।

दानादानरतिर्यस्तु स वै क्षत्रिय उच्यते ॥

Ibid., Śānti, CLXXXIX, 5.

93. *Ibid.*, Udyoga, XL, 26; Śānti, CLXXXIX, 5.

should never be used as a giant. The *Kṣatriyas* should aim not at the establishment of might but at the establishment of right.

Specific duties of the Vaiśyas : The Mahābhārata connects the duties of the *Vaiśyas* with agriculture, honest trade, and cattle-rearing. In the Bhagavadgītā, “*Kṛṣi* (that is, agriculture), *Gorakṣya* (rearing cattle) and *Vāṇijya* (trade), are the inherently natural duties of a *Vaiśya*.”⁹⁴ A more elaborate description of their duties occurs in the Anuśāsana Parva. Pouring of libations on the sacred fire, making gifts, practising righteousness, leading a peaceful life, practising self-restraint, being hospitable towards the *Brāhmaṇas* and study have been regarded as their eternal duties.⁹⁵ It was believed that by doing the ordained duties (*svadharma*) properly one attained merit.

Specific duties of the Śūdras : The fourth *Varṇa* of the Hindu scheme of the division of society, known as *Śūdra*, was assigned the lowest position. It originated from the foot of the Supreme man or Brahṁā.⁹⁶ In accordance with their position, the most important duty of *Śūdras* consisted in attending upon the three higher *Varṇas*.⁹⁷ The Bhagavadgītā regards it as their inherently natural duty.⁹⁸ Moral

94. कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्मस्वभावजम् ॥ Ibid., Bhīṣma, XLII, 44.

95. वैश्यस्य सततं धर्मः पशुपाल्यं कृषिस्तथा ।

अग्निहोत्रपरिस्पन्दो दानाध्ययनमेव च ॥

वाणिज्यं सत्पथस्थानमातिथ्यं प्रशमो दमः ।

विप्राणां स्वागतं त्यागो वैश्यधर्मः सनातनः ॥

Ibid., Anuśāsana, CXLI, 54-5. See also Ibid., Śānti, CLXXXIX, 6.

96. *R̥gveda*, X, 90; *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXII, 4-5; CCXCVI, 6; CCCXVIII, 89-90; Anuśāsana, CXLI, p. 5918 (Southern recension, G.P. Ed.)

97. Ibid., Śānti, CCXCII, 1-2; CCXCIV, 1.

98. परिचर्यात्मकं कर्म शूद्रस्यापि स्वभावजम् । Ibid., Bhīṣma, XLII, 44.

virtues like truthfulness, control over the sense-organs, hospitality towards others and righteous conduct are also prescribed for them.⁹⁹ They could perform sacrifices, but without reciting the *mantras*.¹⁰⁰

These were in brief, the specific duties of the four *Varṇas*.¹⁰¹ The Mahābhārata emphatically says that one should do his ordained duties properly and sincerely, because it earns glory¹⁰² and leads to heaven.¹⁰³ Mārkaṇḍeya narrates the story of the dutiful hunter (*dharmavyādha*) of Mithilā, who discoursed on the principles of *Dharma* to a *Brāhmaṇa*, named Kauśika. Therein the hunter says that glory can be earned by sticking to the code prescribed specifically for different *Varṇas*.¹⁰⁴ Maintaining the same opinion, Kṛṣṇa says in the Bhagavad-gītā, “one’s own *dharmā*, even if defective, is better than the

99. शूद्रधर्मः परो नित्यं शुश्रूषा च द्विजातिषु ॥

स शूद्रः संशिततपाः सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः ।

शुश्रूषुरतिथिं प्राप्तं तपः संचिनुते महत् ॥

नित्यं स हि शुभाचारो देवताद्विजपूजकः ।

शूद्रो धर्मफलैरिष्टैः सम्प्रयुज्येत बुद्धिमान् ॥

Ibid., Anuśāsana, CXLI, 57-9. See also Ibid, Śānti, CLXXXIX, 7.

100. Ibid., LX, 37. In the Southern Recension of the Epic, the following also have been included in the list of their duties :

वार्ता च कारुकर्माणि शिल्पं नाट्यं तथैव च ।

अहिंसकः शुभाचारो देवताद्विजवन्दकः ॥

Ibid., Anuśāsana, XIV, p. 5921 (Southern Recension G. P. Ed.)

See also Ibid., Śānti, Chap. CLXXXIX.

101. For details about *Varṇa Dharma*, Vide Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 105-65; *Sūkra*, IV, 257-9.

102. स्वकर्मनिरतो यो हि स यशः प्राप्नुयान्महत् ॥

Mbh. Vana, CCVIII, 39.

103. Ibid., Śānti, CXCI, 6.

Cf. स्वधर्मः स्वर्गायानन्त्याय च । *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, ३, 14.

104. Ibid., Vana, Chaps. CCVII ff.

dharma of others. Death while doing one's *dharma* is better than adopting the *dharma* of others."¹⁰⁵ Manu also holds the same view. He says "It is better that one should live by doing the vile works allotted to his own caste than embrace the vocation of superior caste for livelihood; living by adopting the vocation of another caste, one becomes degraded the very day."¹⁰⁶

Āśrama Dharma : To the ancient Indian thinkers, a man's life was "a kind of schooling or self-discipline."¹⁰⁷ They enumerated four stages thereof, known by the term, 'āśrama'. The Hindū scheme of the four-fold *āśrama* or the stages of life is a unique contribution to the thought of the ancient world. The four *āśramas* are *Brahmacaryāśrama*, *Gṛhasthāśrama*, *Vānaprasthāśrama* and *Sanyāsāśrama*.¹⁰⁸ They are connected with the fourfold *puruṣārtha* (the goals of life).¹⁰⁹ The *āśramas* are ladders to reach the *Brahmaloka*.¹¹⁰ Proper observance of *āśrama-dharma* helps one to overcome

105. श्रेयान्स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वधर्मो निघनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥

Ibid., Bhīṣma, XXVII, 35, See also Ibid., XLII, 48 and Śānti, XXXII, 23.

106. वरं स्वधर्मो विगुणो न पारक्यः स्वनुष्ठितः ।

परधर्मेण जीवन्हि सद्यः पतति जातितः ॥

X, 97. Translation by M. N. Dutta.

107. P. N. Prabhu : *Hindu Social Organisation*, p. 78.

108. वानप्रस्थं भैक्ष्यचर्यगार्हस्थ्यं च महाश्रमम् ।

ब्रह्मचर्याश्रमं प्रादुश्चतुर्थं ब्राह्मणैर्वृतम् ॥

Mbh. Śānti, LXI, 2.

109. Vide Mees : *Dharma and Society*, p. 27. See Supra, pp. 50ff.

110. चतुष्पदी हि निःश्रेणी ब्रह्मण्येषा प्रतिष्ठिता ।

एतामारुह्य निःश्रेणीं ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥

Mbh. Śānti, CCXLII, 15.

Cf. Ibid., XX, 4.

all sorts of calamities and difficulties¹¹¹ and to attain salvation.¹¹²

Code of conduct for the Brahmacharyaśrama (the period of study and self-discipline) : A *Brahmacārīn* was to live with the *guru* (preceptor) and respect and attend to him. Devoted to his studies, he was expected to study the Vedas regularly and thoroughly, to observe celibacy and to perform *Agnibotra* to propitiate God Agni.¹¹³ The Mahābhārata says that by all means, he should respect his *guru*, observe purity and avoid scents etc.¹¹⁴ To beg alms also has been regarded as an important duty of a student.¹¹⁵

Code of conduct for the Gṛhasthāśrama : After *Brahmacharyaśrama*, one should pay *Guru-dakṣiṇā* (preceptor's fee) and then marry to lead the life of a house-holder and a worldly man.¹¹⁶ The Mahābhārata establishes the superiority of this

111. आश्रमेषु यथोक्तेषु यथोक्तं ये द्विजातयः ।

वर्तन्ते संयतात्मानो दुर्गण्यतितरन्ति ते ॥ Ibid., CX, 2.

112. Ibid., Śānti, Chap. CCLXX. Cf. Anuśāsana, II, 4ff.

113. Ibid., CXCI, 8.

ब्रह्मचारी व्रती नित्यं नित्यं दीक्षापरो वशी ।

परिचार्यं तथा वेदं कृत्यं कुर्वन्वसेत्सदा ॥

शुश्रूषां सततं कुर्वन् गुरोः संप्रणमेत च ।

षट्कर्मसु निवृत्तश्च न प्रवृत्तश्च सर्वशः ॥

न चरत्यधिकारेण सेवेत द्विषतो न च ।

एषोऽऽश्रमपदस्तात ब्रह्मचारिण इष्यते ॥ Ibid., LXI, 19.

114. Ibid., CCXLII, 16-30.

115. भैक्षचर्या परो धर्मो नित्ययज्ञोपवीतिता ।

नित्यं स्वाध्यायिता धर्मो ब्रह्मचर्याश्रमस्तथा ॥

Ibid., Anuśāsana, CLXI, 36.

See also Ibid., Śānti, Chap. CXCI.

116. द्वितीयमायुषो भागं गृहमेधी गृहे वसेत् । Ibid., CCXLIII, 1.

गुरुणा चाभ्यनुज्ञातः समावर्तेत वै द्विजः ।

विन्देतानन्तरं भार्यामनुरूपां यथाविधि ॥

Ibid., Anuśāsana, CXLI, 37.

āśrama over other *āśramas* by calling it their foundation.¹¹⁷ In this stage one was to realize the *Trivarga* consisting of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*.¹¹⁸ It was in this period that one could pay back the debts that one owed to gods, guests, dependents and ancestors by performing sacrifices, by studying the *Vedas*, by performing the rites of *Śrāddha* and by doing good to others.¹¹⁹ According to Bhīṣma, he should perform five sacrifices, otherwise he loses both this and the next *loka*, i.e. he attains happiness neither here, nor hereafter.¹²⁰ He should practise non-violence (*ahimsā*), truth (*satya*) and self-restraint (*śama*). He should be compassionate towards others and should make gifts, in accordance with his capacity (*yathāśakti*). He should procreate children on his wedded wife and should never indulge with other women. He should not accept anything unless given and should avoid sweets and intoxicants.¹²¹ Study and performance of *Agnihotra* sacrifice are his other duties. He should

117. तद्धि सर्वाश्रमाणां मूलमुदाहरन्ति । Ibid., Śānti, CXCI, 8.

शास्त्रदृष्टः परो धर्मः स्थितो गार्हस्थ्यमाश्रितः ॥ Ibid., XXIII, 2.

118. Ibid., CXCI, 10.

119. देवतातिथिभृत्येभ्यः पितृभ्यश्चात्मनस्तथा ।

ऋणवान् जायते मर्त्यस्तस्मादनृणतां ब्रजेत् ॥

स्वाध्यायेन महर्षिभ्यो देवेभ्यो यज्ञकर्मणा ।

पितृभ्यः श्राद्धदानेन नृणामभ्यर्चनेन च ॥ Ibid., CXCII, 9-10.

120. Ibid., CXLVI, 6-7. It seems that these five sacrifices refer to five great sacrifices (*Pañca mahā yajñas*), namely *Brahma yajña*, *Deva yajña*, *Bhūta yajña*, *Pitṛ yajña* and *Mānuṣa yajña* or *Nṛ yajña*, which should be daily performed by a house-holder (*Gṛhasthāśramī*). For details, Vide Kane : *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 696 ff.

121. अहिंसा सत्यवचनं सर्वभूतानुकम्पनम् ।

शमो दानं यथाशक्ति गार्हस्थ्यो धर्म उत्तमः ॥

परदारेष्वसंसर्गो न्यासस्त्रीपरिरक्षणम् ।

अदत्तादानविरमो मधुमांसस्य वर्जनम् ॥

be hospitable towards guests. Accompanied by his wife he should worship gods and be pure at heart.¹²²

Code of conduct for the Vānaprasthāśrama and the Sanyā-sāśrama : In the *Vānaprastha āśrama*, one was to lead the life of a forest-dweller. It was the life of contemplation and of gradual withdrawal from worldly ties. The fourth stage, the *Sanyāsāśrama*, as is clear from the word itself, stood for the life of complete renunciation (*sanyāsa*). According to the Mahābhārata after passing through the *Brahmacarya* and the *Grhasthāśramas*, one should leave for the forest, with or without his wife,¹²³ in his old age, when his hairs have become grey and when the grand-children are born.¹²⁴ There he should sleep on bare ground, worship gods, perform sacrifices, practise celibacy and self-control, forgiveness, purity¹²⁵

एष पंचविधो धर्मो बहुशाखः सुखोदयः ।

देहिभिर्धर्मपरमैश्चर्तव्यो धर्मसंभवः ॥

Mbh. Anuśāsana, CXLI, 25-7.

122. *Ibid.*, CXLI, 39-43; Śānti, XII, 36; XXIII, 3-6; LX, 10-17; CXCI, 10-18; *Manu*, VI, 87-90; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III, 9.

123. जटाधारणसंस्कारं द्विजातित्वमवाप्य च ।

आधानादीनि कर्माणि प्राप्य वेदमधीत्य च ॥

सदारो वाप्यदारो वा आत्मवान् संयतेन्द्रियः ।

वानप्रस्थाश्रमं गच्छेत् कृतकृत्यो गृहाश्रमात् ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, LXI, 3-4.

124. गृहस्थस्तु यदा पश्येद् वलीपलितमात्मनः ।

अपत्यस्यैव चापत्यं वनमेव तदाश्रयेत् ॥

तृतीयमायुषो भागं वानप्रस्थाश्रमे वसेत् । *Ibid.*, CCXLIV, 4-5.

125. तथैव वानप्रस्थस्य धर्माः प्रोक्ताः सनातनाः ।

गृहवासं समुत्सृज्य निश्चित्येकमनाः श्रुतेः ॥

वन्यैरेव सदाहारैर्वर्तयेदिति च स्थितिः ।

भूमिशय्याजटाशमश्रुर्चमवल्कलधारणम् ॥

देवतातिथिसत्कारो महाकृच्छ्रमिपूजनम् ।

अग्निहोत्रं त्रिषवणं तस्य नित्यं विधीयते ॥

and eat roots and fruits. He should put on animal skin and barks of trees. One should strictly follow the rules prescribed for this stage, because thereby one destroys sins like fire that can burn anything.¹²⁶

A forest-dweller should live upon grains, growing of their own accord. Hospitable towards the guests, he should perform sacrifices regularly. It was also laid down for him to train his body to bear heat and rain without any difficulty, to observe fasts etc.,¹²⁷ and to lead a completely restrained life.

After the *Vānaprasthāśrama*, one was to enter the *Sanyā-sāśrama*. A *sanyāsī* has been also called a *parivrājaka* in the *Mahābhārata*. In this stage he was to lead a life of complete renunciation.¹²⁸ A *Sanyāsī* should be free from anger (*roṣa*) delusion and ignorance (*moha*) and should practise *yama*¹²⁹ and *niyama* consisting of *Satya* (truth), *Ahiṃsā* (non-violence), *Asteya* (non-stealing), *Brahmacarya* (discipline and celibacy), *Aparigraha* (non-appropriation), *Śauca* (purity), *Santoṣa* (contentment), *Svādhyāya* (study) and *Īśvara-praṇidhāna* (devotion to God).¹³⁰ Free from the attachments of all sorts he should have a similar attitude towards pleasure and pain. He should practise righteousness throughout the

ब्रह्मचर्यं क्षमा शौचं तस्य धर्मः सनातनः ।

एवं स विगते प्राणे देवलोकं महीयते ॥

Ibid., Anuśāsana, Chap. CXLI. p. 5922 (Southern Recension G. P Edition).

126. Ibid., Śānti, CXCI, I.

127. *Mbh.* Śānti, CCXLIV, 4-22; LXI, 4-9.

128. Ibid., CXCI, 3.

129. Ibid., CCXLIV, 22-31.

130. यमेषु अहिंसास्त्यास्तेयब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहारव्येषु चात्-शौच संतोषतपः

स्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानाख्येषु नियमेषु स्वशास्त्रेति ॥

Nilakaṇṭha's commentary on Ibid., Śānti, CCXLIV, 30.

day and night. By leading such a restrained and disciplined life, one attains salvation according to the Mahābhārata.¹³¹

Order of These Āśramas.

One should observe the duties, prescribed for the *Brahmacaryāśrama* in the beginning and then enter the *Gr̥hasthāśrama*. *Vānaprasthāśrama* was the third stage of life, and it enjoined living in a forest. The fourth and the last *āśrama*, viz. *Sanyāsāśrama* was the life of complete renunciation.¹³² This order was to be strictly followed for producing good results.¹³³ Following this order was called *āśrama samuccaya* and disturbing it was *āśrama vikalpa*, the former can be understood to stand for the path of action and the latter, for the path of renunciation, because it allowed a *brāhmaṇa* to enter the *Vānaprasthāśrama*, if he be anxious to do so.¹³⁴ In the Mbh., both the ways have been advocated. Indra (in the form of a bird) told a group of young boys, who had become forest-dwellers to go back to their homes and become *Vānaprasthis* after observing their duties in the *Gr̥hasthāśrama*.¹³⁵

131. Ibid., Chap. CCXLV. For details about the *āśramas*, vide Kane : *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 416-26 and Mees : *Dharma and Society*, pp. 74-6.

132. जटाधारणसंस्कारं द्विजातित्वमवाप्य च ।
आद्यानादीनि कर्माणि प्राप्य वेदमधीत्य च ॥
सदारो वाऽप्यदारो वा आत्मवान् संयतेन्द्रियः ।
वानप्रस्थाश्रमं गच्छेत् कृतकृत्यो गृहाश्रमात् ॥ Mbh. Śānti, LXI, 3-4.

133. आश्रमेषु यथोक्तेषु यथोक्तं ये द्विजातयः ।
वर्तन्ते संयतात्मानो दुर्गाण्यतितरन्ति ते ॥ Ibid., CX, 2.
Cf. *Manu*, VI, 35-7.

134. Mbh. Śānti, LXI, 7.

135. Ibid., LXI, 7. See also, Ibid., CCXXVI, 6; Chaps. CCLX—CCLXII; CCLXXXI, 9; CCLXXXIV, 39; CCLXXXVI, 31; CCLXXXVIII, 20, ref. to by Bedekar in the *Mahābhārata*, Critical Edition (BORI, Poona, 1966), Vol. XVI, Śānti Parva, Introduction, p. CCXLVI.

The path of renunciation also has been favoured at many places.¹³⁶ The Mahābhārata makes an attempt to reconcile the two views by asking one to perform one's ordained duties without thinking of, and caring for, the fruits thereof. It advocates renunciation in action and not the renunciation of action. This is described as *niṣkāma karma* or *asaṅga karma* (detached action)¹³⁷ and is the bedrock of ethical ideas, contained in the Mahābhārata.

Guna Dharma implied the code, prescribed for a person, by virtue of his holding a particular office, e.g. *Rājadharmā*, which deals with the duties and rules of conduct, prescribed for the kings.¹³⁸ A king, though vested with power and authority should work within limits. He should be guided by *dharma* and should be well-versed in *nīti*. The very importance of a king lies in his capacity and function of maintaining *dharma*. That king, who maintains *Dharma* is taken as a God (*deva*) and he who follows the path of *adharma* is sure to go to hell. He is to wield the rod of chastisement and to exert activity with a view to preserving social morality.

Naimittika Dharma stands for the duties, done with a special purpose. e.g. the expiatory rites, to be performed after behaving in some prohibited way. The Mahābhārata

136. Ibid., Chaps. CLXIX—CLXX, CCLXIX, CCCIX. teste Bedekar, op. cit. p. CCXLVI.

137. सन्यासः कर्मयोगश्च निःश्रेयसकरावुभौ ।

तयोस्तु कर्मसन्यासात् कर्मयोगो विशिष्यते ॥

Ibid., Bhīṣma, XXIX, 2. For details vide Tilak : *Śrīmad Bhagavad-gītā Rahasya* (Poona, 1935), Vol. I, 416 ff and Hiriyanna : *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, (1951), pp. 118 ff.

138. Vide infra, Chap. V, Monarchy and Morals for the qualities and qualifications of a king, pp. 132 ff.

gives a very long list of such acts.¹³⁹ The Epic refers to the views of Manu on the prohibited acts and the expiatory rites.¹⁴⁰

Āpaddharma—The moral code of the Mahābhārata does not recognise a universal standard. The standard varies with different persons, places, circumstances and other factors. The code of behaviour, prescribed for times of distress differs from that of the ordinary peaceful times and has been styled as *Āpaddharma*,¹⁴¹ the ethics of the abnormal times. Under such circumstances, social and political morality and customs can be suspended. The members of a *Varṇa* can adopt the duties and functions of another,¹⁴² for instance, *Brāhmaṇas* as well as other *varṇas* can take up arms and fight.¹⁴³ The political behaviour of such times was also different. For example, the rates of taxation could be raised and some extra-taxes imposed. Even *Brāhmaṇas* were not to be exempted from being taxed.¹⁴⁴ When war was going on, the victorious side was to follow the ethics of war, but for the defeated party it was the *āpatti-kāla* and hence, *Āpaddharma* permitted the suspension of the rules of morality. In the times of distress, self-preservation became the highest law and justified all means.

Bhīṣma told Yudhiṣṭhira that one could not always stick to the letter of scriptures. It was possible to imagine circumstances of the fall of man and in such times extra-ordinary maxims had to be applied to the conduct of affairs.

139. *Mbh.* Śānti, Chap. XXXIV-XXXV.

140. *Ibid.*, Chap. XXXVI.

141. See *Infra*, Chap. X. *Āpaddharma*, pp. 315 ff.

142. अशक्तः क्षात्रधर्मेण वैश्यधर्मेण वर्तयेत् ।

कृषिगोरक्ष्यमास्थाय व्यसने वृत्तिसंक्षये ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXVIII, 2

143. *Ibid.*, LXXVIII, 34. and *ibid.*, 16.

144. *Ibid.*, LXXVI, 5.

Yuga Dharma—Ancient Indian thinkers believed in the existence of four ages, namely, *Satya Yuga or Kṛta Yuga*, *Tretā Yuga*, *Dvāpara Yuga* and *Kali Yuga*. The moral code varied in accordance with the *yuga*. Bhīṣma tells Yudhiṣṭhira, “Of one kind is the *Dharma* in the *Kṛta* Age, different is it in the *Tretā* Age. Of one kind is it in the *Dvāpara* Age and different is it in the *Kali* Age. *Dharma*, in the different *Yugas*, is laid down according to the powers of the human beings in the respective ages.”¹⁴⁵ Manu holds the same view.¹⁴⁶ In the Vana Parva, Hanumāna describes the respective duties, to be done in the four ages.¹⁴⁷

The End of Ethics.

Ethics, as conceived in the Mahābhārata, aims at salvation, which consists in the purification and uplift of the individual soul for realising its true nature as the essence of the universal soul. The goal of liberation is the Absolute in which the liberated souls merge. At some places, it regards the attainment of heaven (*svarga-prāpti*) as the final goal of human life and as the end of Ethics. According to Kaṇāda, *Dharma* leads to worldly prosperity as well as to emancipation.¹⁴⁸ The same is the view of Somadeva Sūrī also.¹⁴⁹

145. अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मास्त्रेतायां द्वापरे परे ।

अन्ये कलियुगे चैव यथाशक्ति कृता इव ॥ Ibid., CCLX, 8.

146. अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मस्त्रेतायां द्वापरे परे ।

अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगह्रासानुरूपतः ॥ Mann, I. 85.

147. Mbh. Vana, Chap. CXLIX.

148. यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयस् सिद्धिः स धर्मः । *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra*.

Abhyudaya stands for *Āibika Sukeha* (the worldly prosperity and pleasure) whereas *Niḥśreyas* is indicative of the eternal happiness, known as the *Ātyantika Sukeha*.

149. यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयस् सिद्धिः स धर्मः ॥ *Nītivākyaṃṛta*, I, 1.

The Mahābhārata repeatedly says that one can realise the ultimate goal by following the above-mentioned moral code, by properly performing one's ordained duties without thinking of, and caring for, the fruits derived therefrom. It advocates renunciation in action and not the renunciation of action. This is described as *Niṣkāma Karma* or as *Asaṅga Karma* (detached action)¹⁵⁰ and is the bedrock of Ethics, as conceived in the Mahābhārata.¹⁵¹

Like the Ethics of the Mahābhārata, the ethical systems of the different schools of Indian philosophy also have the same end and they lay similar emphasis on ethical discipline for the realisation of this ultimate goal. The Yoga system of Patañjali, which regards human body as the instrument (of the expression of spiritual life) prescribes the eight-fold path, consisting of *Yama*, *Niyama*, *Āsana*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Pratyāhāra*, *Dhāraṇā*, *Dhyāna* and *Samādhi*.¹⁵² According to Kapila, the

150. कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।

मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भू मा ते संगोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥

Mbh. Bhīṣma, XXVI, 47. See also *ibid.*, 48. For details, vide M. Hiriyanna, *op.cit.* pp. 118 ff; H.V. Divatia : *The Art of life in the Bhagavadgītā*, pp. 96 ff; B.G. Tilak : *Bhagavadgītā Rahasya or Karmayoga Śāstra* (7th edition) pp. 51-73.

151. "It teaches that an active life led without any thought of securing the worldly results it may yield, sets free the springs of that inner life whose development is the one aim of man. And *karma-yoga* is disinterested only so far as it turns our mind from these results and sets it on the path leading to the true goal—not that it has no end at all. It does not thus do away with motives altogether; only it furnishes one and the same motive for whatever we may do, viz. the betterment of our spiritual nature." M. Hiriyanna : *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, p. 125.

152. Radhakrishnan : *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, pp. 352 ff. Chatterjee and Datta : *Bhāratīya Darśana* (Translated by Jha and Misra), pp. 314-8.

founder of Sāṃkhya philosophy, one should shun the vices like *asmitā* (egoism), *rāga* (attachment), *dveṣa* (contempt) and *abhiniveśa* (fear). By doing so and by having a correct knowledge of the relation between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, one attains *mokṣa*.¹⁵³

According to the followers of the Nyāya school of philosophy, righteousness and virtuous activities are important in as much as they help one to have the true knowledge, which makes it possible for one to distinguish between soul, body and senses,¹⁵⁴ whereas the Vaiśeṣikas believe that the realisation of emancipation is possible by having a selfless insight into truth of things and after realising that all souls are alike.¹⁵⁵

In the Jain philosophy also moral virtues like non-violence, charity, truth, honourable conduct, non-stealing, and renunciation of worldly interests have been laid down and it is said that their observance leads to *Nirvāṇa*, the final deliverance.¹⁵⁶ The importance of ethical discipline has been recognized in the Buddhist school of Indian philosophy also. It lays down an eight-fold path¹⁵⁷ and says that one should keep one's mind free from attachment (*rāga*) and hatred (*dveṣa*) while doing some action.¹⁵⁸

Put briefly, the primary end of ethics, as conceived in the Mahābhārata and the different schools of Indian philo-

153. Radhakrishnan, op.cit. Vol. II. pp. 307 ff; Chatterjee and Datta, op.cit. pp. 267 ff; Hirianna, op.cit. pp. 267 ff.

154. Radhakrishnan, op.cit. Vol. II, pp. 161 ff.

155. Ibid., pp. 222 ff.

156. Ibid., Vol. I. pp. 325 ff.

157. The Buddhist eightfold path consists of *Sammā diṭṭhi*, *Sammā Sāṃkappā*, *Sammā Vācā*, *Sammā Kammānta*, *Sammā ājīva*, *Sammā vyāyāma*, *Sammā Sati* and *Sammā Samādhi*.

158. Chatterjee and Datta, op.cit. pp. 131, 134-9.

sophy is salvation, which means freedom from the bondage of birth and death and its secondary aim is worldly prosperity.

Responsibility of the State Towards Social Morality : Establishment of *Dharma* has been proclaimed to be an important function of state in the Epic which goes to the extent of saying that it is for the cause of *Dharma* that sovereignty exists.¹⁵⁹ For the realisation of this function, a state is given the right of exercising *Danda* (coercion).

Danda was regarded to be capable of restraining¹⁶⁰ the natural turbulence and depravity of men, which led them to violate different rules and regulations. It was *Danda* which made them follow *Dharma*.¹⁶¹ In its absence, chaos prevailed¹⁶² and people did not do their duties.¹⁶³

To Manu people become righteous, only due to the fear of *Danda*.¹⁶⁴ In its absence vices creep in.¹⁶⁵ Hence, *Danda* is *Dharma*.¹⁶⁶ In the opinion of Śukra, *Danda* means the absence of bad conduct. It makes people restrained.¹⁶⁷ Not to speak of men, even gods stick to *Dharma*, due to the fear of *Danda*.¹⁶⁸ Kāmandaka says that *Danda* establishes

159. धर्माय राजा भवति न कामकरणाय तु । *Mbh.* Śānti, XC, 3.

यस्मिन् धर्मो विराजते तं राजानं प्रचक्षते ॥ *Ibid.*, XC, 14.

See also *INFRA*, Chap. V. Monarchy and Morals, pp. 148 ff.

160. *Mbh.* Śānti, CXXII, 56.

161. *Ibid.*, CXXI, 36.

162. *Ibid.*, Ādi, XLI, 27-31.

163. *Ibid.*, Śānti, XV, 41-5; CXXI, 37-9.

164. *Manu*, VII, 22.

165. *Ibid.*, VII, 24.

166. दण्डं धर्मं विदुर्वृद्धाः ॥ *Ibid.*, VII, 18.

167. येन संदम्यते जन्तुरुपायो दण्ड एव सः ॥ *Śukra*, IV, 40.

See also, *Ibid.*, I, 156.

168. देवास्तु किकरास्तस्य किं पुनर्मनुजा भुवि ।

सुदण्डैर्धर्मनिरतः प्रजाः कुर्यान्महासयैः ॥

Ibid., I, 25, See also *ibid.*, 23.

Dharma.¹⁶⁹ A king is given the right of exercising *Danda* for the cause of morality.¹⁷⁰ It was the duty of a king to punish the wicked and the unrighteous people,¹⁷¹ and to establish *Dharma* thereby. If he does not punish such persons, he earns infamy (*ayaśa*) and goes to hell.¹⁷²

Put briefly, the ethics of the Mahābhārata aims at putting proper checks and limitations on an unrestricted course of life with a view to maintaining peace and order in society and leading to the general welfare. It deals with the rules of morality, necessary for the realisation of the summum bonum of life. Its scope being wide and comprehensive, it comprises the ethics of sociality as well as the ethics of individuality. The attainment of salvation is individualistic. But it is more than that "for man may be a separate individual, yet his mind is united to the mind of humanity. There is a constant interplay going on between himself and the members of different groups. In his achievements there are elements betraying his period, his belief or creed."¹⁷³ Thus *Dharma* (ethics) as conceived in the Mahābhārata is concerned with the social as well and the individual good. Keeping in view the importance of *Dharma*, the Mahābhārata says that it is the responsibility of the state to establish and enforce it.

169. *Kāmandaka*, II, 41-3.

170. स्वक्रीयौ द्यतण्डडाभ्यां स्वधर्मो स्थापयेत्प्रजाः । *Sūkra*, I, 60.

दण्डो हि केवलं लोकं परं चैवं च रक्षति ।

राजा पुत्रे च शत्रौ च यथादोषं समं धृतः ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, 3, 54.

171. अपराधिषु यो दण्डः स राष्ट्रस्य विशुद्धये ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, CXXI, 8.

172. अदण्ड्यान् दण्डयन् राजा दण्ड्यांश्चैवाप्यदण्डयन् ।

अयशो बह्मदाप्नोति नरकं चाधिगच्छति ॥ *Manu*, VIII, 128.

173. G. H. Mees : *Dharma and Society*, p. 173.

CHAPTER IV

STATE IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

In the vast ancient Indian literature, *deśa*, *rāṣṭra*, *janapada* and *rājya* have been used to denote a state. *Rājya*, however, is the most commonly used term.

Conception of State in the Mahābhārata : State, as conceived in the Mahābhārata, consists of seven elements, called *aṅgas* or *prakertis*. These are *Svāmī* (sovereign or ruler), *Amātya* (ministers), *Janapada* (population and land), *Pura* or *Durga* (capital or fort), *Kośa* (treasury), *Danḍa* or *Bala* (army) and *Subrd* or *Mitra* (allies).¹ A similar list of these *Saptāṅgas* of state occurs in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya,² the Mānu Smṛti,³ the Yājñavalkya Smṛti,⁴ the Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra,⁵ the

1. आत्माऽमात्याश्च कोशाश्च दण्डो मित्राणि चैव हि ॥

तथा जनपदाश्चैव पुरं च कुरुनन्दन ।

एतत्सप्तात्मकं राज्यं.....॥ *Mbb.* Śānti, LXIX, 64-5.

See also *Ibid.*, LV, 5; LVII, 5; LIX, 51; CXXII, 8.

2. स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः । VI, 1.

3. स्वाम्यमात्यो पुरं राष्ट्रं कोशदण्डो सुहृत्तथा ।

सप्तप्रकृतयो ह्येताः सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ॥ IX, 294.

4. I, 353.

5. III, 33.

Kāmandaka Nītisāra⁶ and the Śukra Nītisāra.⁷ Sometimes the Mahābhārata refers to the state as “*Aṣṭātma*” (consisting of eight limbs), although the eighth constituent has not been mentioned.⁸

Inter-relation of the Constituents of State : As regards the inter-relation of the above-mentioned seven constituents of state, the Mahābhārata says that “they exist, depending upon one another like three sticks standing with one another’s support. The merits of each are set off by the merits of others. Which of them can be said to be superior to the rest ? At those times those particular ones are regarded as distinguished above the rest when some important end is served through their agency. Superiority for the time being is said to attach to that one whose efficacy is thus seen.”⁹ Similar is the view of Manu. In his words “These seven limbs of government, though contrary to one another in their virtues (i.e. ends and nature), are co-operative; one

6. I, 16. See also Ibid., IV, I.

7. I, 61. For a comparison between the ancient Indian and modern constituents of state, See Bhandarkar : *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 74 ff ; Sharma : *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, pp. 21-3; Bhambhri : *Substance of Hindu Polity* pp. 13-5

8. अष्टाङ्गे. राज्ये । *Mbb.* Aśramavāsika, V, 8.

अष्टाङ्गस्य तु राज्यस्य. । Ibid., (Critical Ed.) Śānti, CXXII, 8. In the Chitraśālā Press Edition, the reading is सप्ताङ्गस्य तु राज्यस्य । Ibid.

9. मित्रामात्यपुरं राष्ट्रं दण्डः कोशो महीपतिः ॥

सप्ताङ्गस्यास्य राज्यस्य त्रिदण्डस्येव तिष्ठतः ।

अन्योन्यगुणयुक्तस्य कः केन गुणतोऽधिकः ॥

तेषु तेषु^{१०} हि कालेषु तत्तदङ्गं विशिष्यते ।

येन यत्सिद्ध्यते कार्यं तत्प्राधान्याय कल्पते ॥ *Mbb.* Śānti, CCCXX, 156-8.

Translation by P. C. Ray.

does not excel another in respect of eminence or importance.”¹⁰ In other words, all these constituents are comparable with the legs of a three-legged stool, which is sure to lose balance even if one of these legs is damaged. Thus, even though the seven *aṅgas* are not equal in importance yet they are equally necessary for, and make equal contribution to, the efficient functioning of a state.

Kauṭilya also holds a similar view.¹¹ In his opinion, constituents may vary in importance, yet calamities (*vyasana*) even of a single element, whether that element be important or unimportant, is serious, because it is likely to affect the rest of the elements also.

State as an Organism :

According to Bhandarkar, all the essentials of an organic theory of the state, as laid down by Bluntschilli can be found in the conception of the *Rājya*, having seven limbs.¹² The *Mahābhārata* does not throw light on this question. It does not explain the significance of the seven things, included in the *Saptāṅga*. Hence, on its basis, it is not possible to attribute organic nature to the state. The following characteristics of an organism corroborate our conclusion.

- (i) Every organism has the capacity of growth within itself,
- (ii) the exaggerated growth of any part of an organism weakens the whole organism,

10. IX, 295-6. M. N. Datta's rendering adopted.

11. *Arthaśāstra* (Translated by Shamasastri) p. 352.

12. *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 80 ff; See also Dikshitar: *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 51-5; Anjaria: *Nature and Ground of Political Obligation in Hindu State*, pp. 103-32; Bhambhri: *Substance of Hindu Polity*, pp. 15-7 and R. S. Sharma: *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, pp. 30-32.

- (iii) in an organism, a part lives for the whole, is subervient to it and becomes useless if separated from the whole,
- (iv) an organism has integral as well as contributory parts. None of these characteristics of an organism can be attributed to the ancient Indian state. To say that the ancient Indian state is organic in character is to read a little too much in the data, available to us.

Necessity and Importance of State : Evils of Anarchy.

Ancient Indian thinkers have given elaborate accounts of a kingless i.e. an anarchical state. In the Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma condemns anarchy by saying that in such a state *Dharma* disappears totally. One is not able to have control over women folk and wealth. Sinners and robbers get an opportunity to deprive others of their belongings. Human welfare becomes impossible. Those who are not slaves, are forcibly made slaves. Women are kidnapped. *Mātsyanyāya*, the law of fish, in other words, 'might is right' is practised. As the bigger and stronger fishes eat up the smaller and weaker fishes, so the stronger people trouble the weaker ones. They loot one another and thereby ruin themselves.¹³ As darkness sets in in the absence of Sun and Moon, so in the absence of the king men fight with one another and thereby ruin themselves like the fishes and birds, attacking one another. Like the cows that are destroyed if there is no shepherd, men become unhappy and are destroyed in the absence of a king. Nobody is able to have possession over one's belongings. Righteous people are beaten and are made unrighteous. Wicked persons injure and even kill their father, mother, aged persons, preceptors, teachers and guests. Peo-

13. *Mbh.* Śānti, LXIX, 3. 12-7.

ple die at an early age. The world is captured by robbers and is converted into hell. Crops are destroyed. Trade is disturbed. *Dharma* as well as the *Vedas* disappear. Immorality increases and marriage system goes out of vogue. Sacrifices are not performed unobstructed. *Snātakes* (those, who have completed their education), sages and *Brāhmaṇas* do not study the *Vedas*. Injustice and corruption prevail. Mixture of castes (*varṇasamīkara*) becomes frequent. Famine takes place.¹⁴

A kingless state is deplorable¹⁵ because the kingless subject (*prajānāṭhā*) meets its end, all the acts prove futile, rains do not pour and gods are not worshipped.¹⁶ Sacrifices are not performed. Nobody follows *Dharma* in an anarchical state, because it is the king on whom *Dharma* depends.¹⁷ Thus, in the absence of a king, peace, order, justice, religion, morality and the like become impossible and their contraries prevail prominently. Hence, Bhīṣma says that one should not live in such a state.¹⁸

According to Manu also the conditions of a kingless state are dreadful. Therein people run about out of terror.¹⁹ The Viṣṇu Purāṇa favours the same view.²⁰ In the opinion of

14. Ibid., LXVIII, 8-30.

15. शोच्यं राष्ट्रमराजकम् ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, XXXIX, 76.

16. अराजकेषु राष्ट्रेषु प्रजानाथा विनश्यति ।

नश्यन्ति च क्रियाः सर्वा नास्ति वृष्टिर्न देवता ॥ Ibid., Ādi, CIV, 44.

17. नियन्ता चेन्न विद्येत न कश्चिद् धर्ममाचरेत् ॥ Ibid., Virāṭa, LXVIII, 45.

See also Ibid., Śānti, LXXIII, 20-2.

18. नाराजकेषु राष्ट्रेषु वस्तव्यमिति रोचये । Ibid., LXVII, 5. See also Supra, Chap. II, Daṇḍanīti, pp. 43 ff.

19. अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात् ।

रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः ॥ VII, 3.

20. I, 13, 31-2.

Śukra, people become miserable in the absence of a king, like the boats drowned in a sea in the absence of a pilot. People do not do their prescribed duties (*svadharma*).²¹

To sum up, the ancient Indian thinkers emphasised the necessity and importance of a king because in their opinion it was he, who could remove chaos and establish *Dharma*. That is why Bhīṣma regards the appointment of a king as the foremost duty of the people.²² The following account of the origin of state or kingship will make it clear that the necessity of king was felt in order to maintain *Dharma* and to get rid of disorder.

The Origin of State.

The Mahābhārata lacks a systematic account of the origin of state, monarchical or non-monarchical. Monarchy being the norm of government in ancient India, the Epic gives some information about its origin and is silent about the origin of the non-monarchical states. Since the king was identified with the state in ancient India, the different accounts of the origin of kingship are to be taken as the theories of the origin of state.

According to the Śānti Parva²³, in the beginning there was neither the king nor the state, neither chastisement nor the chastiser. There was peace, prosperity and order. People were righteous. But after sometime the atmosphere changed. Under the influence of ignorance (*moha*), illusion (*māyā*), greed (*lobha*), passion (*kāma*) and attachment (*rāga*), life became miserable. At this, gods approached Brahmā,

21. I, 65-6.

22. राष्ट्रस्यैतत्कृत्यतमं राज्ञ एवामिषेचनम् ।

अनिन्द्रमबलं राष्ट्रं दस्यवोऽभिभवन्त्युत ॥

तस्माद् राजैव कर्तव्यः सततं भूतिमिच्छता ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, LXVII, 2 & 12.

23. Chap. LIX.

who composed a treatise on *Dāṇḍanīti*. Thereafter they went to Viṣṇu and requested him to appoint the strongest among them as their king. Viṣṇu created Virajas. Virajas was interested in the attainment of salvation and hence, he refused to rule. The same was the case with Virajasa's son, Kīrtimān and grandson, Kardama. The latter's son Anaṅga ruled for some time. After him, his son, Atibala, assumed the reins of government. He was a slave of his sense-organs and hence, seems to have become unpopular. Then came Veṇa, who on account of his cruel behaviour and unsympathetic attitude towards the sages and the *Brāhmaṇas* was killed by them. They churned his right arm. Consequently Pṛthu came out. He made some promises about the things, which he was expected to bear in mind while ruling and then only gods, *Brāhmaṇas* and sages appointed him as their king.

When analysed, the above-mentioned account seems to contain the following features. Like Locke and Rousseau, the Mahābhārata imagines the state of nature to be a golden age of man. Then there was a fall and man began to live in a chaotic condition. Man, according to Bhīṣma, possessed *daivī*, i.e. divinely as well as *āsurī* i.e. devilish tendencies. In the first age, the former dominated and in the second, i.e. the chaotic stage, the latter. *Daivī Vṛtti* wanted to get rid of the deplorable condition of the second stage. Gods went to Brahmā, who composed a treatise. Thereafter they approached Viṣṇu and requested him to appoint a king. This hints at the divine origin of kingship.

Although Veṇa belonged to the lineage of Viṣṇu, yet he was not only dethroned but even killed by the *Brāhmaṇas* and sages when he became a despot and began to rule arbitrarily. This shows that the *Brāhmaṇas* and sages played an important part in the state-affairs. It is to be noted here that

the so-called "contract" was not between Pr̥thu and the common people, but between the *Brāhmaṇas* and the sages on one hand, and Pr̥thu, the king to be appointed, on the other. In this account, Bhīṣma blends the divine origin theory with the theory of social contract.

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa²⁴ advocates the divine origin of kingship. According to it, Indra, the youngest among gods, was made the lord of the celestial world by Brahmā. The elder gods, however, refused to accept the authority of one, who was the youngest. At this, Indra went to Brahmā and told him what the gods had said. In order to enforce order and obedience, he asked for the lustre (*baras*) from Prajāpati. Prajāpati gave him his lustre. As a result of this he could become a powerful ruler. This account is to be interpreted as propounding a purely divine origin of kingship.

Another account of the origin of kingship also occurs in the Śānti Parva.²⁵ Therein Bhīṣma tells Yudhiṣṭhira that in the beginning there was no king and people looted one another. This state of affairs can be compared with the view, propounded by Hobbes, who disregards the idea that the natural state of man was a state of blessedness. To put an end to the then existing deplorable conditions, people assembled and passed a resolution to the effect that he, who spoke hard words, troubled others, misbehaved with other's women and took away the wealth (i. e. belongings) of others, would be banished. When this *Samaya* (contract or resolution) was followed, people lived happily. But it was not observed for a long time. Its violation resulted in the repetition of the evils of anarchy. At this, people approached

24. II, 2, 10, 1-2; Teste Bhandarkar, op.cit., pp. 128-9.

25. Chap. LXVII.

Brahmā and requested him to appoint one, capable of ruling, as their king. The latter appointed Manu but he was afraid of sins and more afraid of ruling over sinful people. Hence he refused to be their monarch. People told him that the sinners and not he would be responsible for their evil deeds and that he would earn one fourth of their good acts. Moreover, they assured him their co-operation and promised to pay him two percent of their cattle, two percent of their gold, one tenth of corn and a beautiful maiden. In return, Manu was expected to try for their security and happiness. On these conditions Manu agreed to become their ruler and began to rule.

An analysis of this account reveals the following points. "The state of nature was full of evils. Brahmā was approached. He appointed Manu to rule but the latter refused to do so. People made a contract with him and then he agreed to be their ruler. Thus, the will of Brahmā was overshadowed by the contract between Manu and the ruled. Under these circumstances, it is not possible to agree with Spellman according to whom, "in the Mahābhārata the concept of divine appointment predominates, although other theories of origin are also to be found in the text".²⁶

The Dīgha Nikāya²⁷ believes in the human origin of kingship. According to it in a kingless society there was no ruler or political authority to prevent the encroachment of other's land and the violation of rights connected with property. To put an end to these deplorable conditions, people assembled, selected the ablest man to be their ruler and said to him, "Punish the guilty. In return we shall pay you rice." The selected man agreed to do so. Because he was appointed

26. *Political Theory of Ancient India* (1964), p. 14. •

27. Rhys Davids : *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. IV, pp. 77 ff.

with the acceptance of all, he was called *Mahājanasammata*. He was called *Rājā* because he pleased others. This account points to the social contract as the basis of the state.

Kauṭilya also gives a similar account of the theory of social contract. According to him "People, suffering from anarchy, as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish swallowing a small one (*mātsyanyāyābbhibhūtāḥ prajāḥ*) first elected Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their king and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects."²⁸

The Mbh. hints at the theory of force by saying that a powerful person becomes the king.²⁹

The End of State : The Mahābhārata does not specifically deal with the problem of the end of state. It is concerned mainly with laying down maxims and duties for the guidance of a monarch. These passages help us in drawing a picture of the end of the ancient Indian States. The detailed accounts of the unhealthy atmosphere of an anarchical state, as given in the Mahābhārata and other works give an idea of the purpose, which the state stood for.

Establishment of *Dharma* has been deemed to be the most important function of a state in the Mahābhārata. It justifies the existence of sovereignty on the ground that it maintains *Dharma*. It goes to the extent of saying that it is for the sake of *Dharma* that sovereignty exists.³⁰ With the help of *Danḍa* (the rod of chastisement), the state should see that

28. *Arthasāstra* (Translated by Shamasastri). I, 13, pp. 22-3.

29. बलवाञ्जायते राजा । *Mbh.* Udyoga, XI, 4.

30. धर्माय भवति राजा न कामकरणाय तु । *Ibid.*, Śānti, XC, 20.

यस्मिन् धर्मा विराजते तं राजानं प्रचक्षते ॥ *Ibid.*, XC, 14.

people observe their respective duties, specifically laid down for their *Varṇas* and *Āśramas*.³¹ This has been called *Svadharmā* and has been strongly emphasised in the *Mahābhārata*,³² the *Dhammapada*,³³ the *Manu Smṛti*³⁴ and the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kaṭīya*,³⁵ because the proper performance of the ordained duties (*Svadharmā*) is believed to lead to heaven and to infinite bliss, i. e. *Mokṣa*,³⁶ the final goal of the human life. This view of the *Mahābhārata* is comparable with that of Plato, who held the view that the realisation of virtue was the purpose, which the state stood for. Guided by moral standards, the Platonic state could not but be moral, for thereby alone it could make its citizens moral. Thus, Plato made Politics subservient to Ethics. Aristotle also held a similar view. He regarded state as a moral and spiritual entity and hence, emphasised the necessity of its membership for the attainment of good life by an individual. The state of Aristotle was a means through which the individual could attain the life of virtue. Similar was the opinion of Bosanquet, who said, "the ultimate end of the state, as of the individual is the realisation of the best life".³⁷ Put briefly,

31. चार्तुवर्ण्यस्य धर्माश्च रक्षितव्या महीक्षिता ।

धर्मं संकररक्षा च राज्ञां धर्मः सनातनः ॥ *Ibid.*, LVII, 13. See also *Manu*, VII, 35; *Sūkra*, I, 66.

32. *Mbh.* Bhīṣma, XLII, 45-8.

33. *Dhammapada*, XII, 166. Teste Anjaria: *Nature and Ground of Political Obligation in Hindu State*, p. 157.

34. *Manu*, VIII, 42.

35. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, Chap. 3.

36. कर्मणैव हि संसिद्धिमास्थिता जनकादयः ॥ *Mbh.* Bhīṣma, XXVII, 20. स्वधर्मस्स्वर्गायानन्त्याय च । तस्यातिक्रमे लोकसंस्कारादुच्छिद्येत तस्मात् स्वधर्मं भूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत् । स्वधर्मं संदधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ॥ *Arthaśāstra* (Shamasastri, 1919), Bk. I, Chap. 3.

37. *Philosophical Theory of the State*, p. 169.

it was the responsibility of the state to see that the *Trivarga*, consisting of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*, the three-fold end of human life, was pursued in proper order, proportion and time, because its realisation was expected to lead to the fourth *puruṣārtha* (goal), viz. *Mokṣa* or salvation.³⁸ In the words of N. N. Law, "The ideal of the state as set forth in the Epics and later Vedic literature is the attainment of the summum bonum, '*Mokṣa*' (salvation) through *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. In other words, the state is the machinery for the collective attainment of salvation (*mokṣa*) by the people under its care".³⁹ Dr. Law is correct in making the first half of the above-quoted statement, but his view that "the state is the machinery for the collective attainment of salvation" is unacceptable, because in a state each and every individual was to mind his own business so far as salvation was concerned.

The State and the Individual : The relation between the state and the individual is a difficult problem of modern political theory. It was not so difficult in ancient India. Society was hierarchical and the state was to see that the four *varṇas* observed their *Dharma*. In the Mahābhārata, the *Brāhmaṇas* are a privileged class.⁴⁰ They should always be protected.⁴¹ One, who does so, earns glory⁴² and merit⁴³ and goes to heaven.⁴⁴ A king should make arrangements

38. धर्मार्थौ धर्मकामौ च कामार्थौ चाप्यपीडयन् ।

धर्मार्थकामान् योऽभ्येति सोऽप्यन्तं सुखमश्नुते ॥ *Mbh.* Śālya, LX, 22.

39. *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 144.

40. *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXIII, 31-2; Anuśāsana, CLIX, 8-11.

41. *Ibid.*, Śānti, CCXII, 16-7; CLXXXIX, 36; Āśwamedhika, XLIII, 17-9.

42. *Ibid.*, Śānti, LXXIV, 21.

43. *Ibid.*, LXXVIII, 28-30; LXXVII, 32.

44. *Ibid.*, LXXI, 23.

for their livelihood.⁴⁵ They should be respected⁴⁶ and should never be killed.⁴⁷ The Mahābhārata wants a king to pay special attention to them because, if annoyed, they prove to be dangerous to the state.⁴⁸ The practical side of the problem shows that kings actually paid special attention to them.⁴⁹ But this behaviour was to be meted out to the deserving *Brāhmaṇas* only and undutiful *Brāhmaṇas* were to be handled in a different way.⁵⁰

High *varṇa* being regarded as a qualification for holding a high office, generally the *Brāhmaṇas* occupied high posts in a state. They were appointed as ministers (*mantrin*), priests (*purohita*) and ambassadors (*dūta*). The place of the *Kṣatriyas* was next.⁵¹ They together with the *Brāhmaṇas*, enjoyed all

45. Ibid., LXXXIX, 3-4; Anuśāsana, LXI, 14-6; See also, Vana, CCXLIX, 25-7.

46. Ibid., Śānti, CXLII, 36-8; CLII, 19-20; Chaps. XXXIII, XXXIV; Ibid., LXXI, 3-5.

47. Ibid., XXVII, 3-7; Udyoga, LXXXII, 17. cf. U.N. Ghoshal : Law and Politics in Ancient India (C. 600-300 B.C.) *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, no. 7, March '58, p. 55.

48. *Mbh.* Udyoga, XL, 8; Āśvamedhikā, LVIII, 8; Vana, XXVI, 10-19. We are informed that king Nahuṣa was killed by Agastya because the former's behaviour towards the *Brāhmaṇas* was unsympathetic. Ibid., Udyoga, XVII, 22 and Ibid., XVIII, 13-4.

49. Prahlāda behaved properly towards them (Ibid., Śānti, CXXIV, 34-9). Śibi killed his son because a *Brāhmaṇa* wanted to eat him and because it was incumbent upon a king to do whatever a *Brāhmaṇa* desired. (Ibid., Vana, Chap. CXCVIII). Jarāsandha cordially received and welcomed *Brāhmaṇas* even if they came in the mid-night (Ibid., Sabhā, XXI, 36). Kārtavīrya Arjuna, however, was an exception. He insulted sage Śakti and beat him with a whip (Ibid., Ādi, CLXXV, 8-11).

50. Ibid., Śānti, LVI, 26-30; LXXVII, 33.

51. Sometimes they are said to be superior to the *Brāhmaṇas*, eg. Ibid., Anuśāsana, CLII, 16-8.

political power. The Mahābhārata highly speaks of the harmony between these two *varṇas*⁵² and says that evil consequences are unavoidable if there is a conflict between these two.⁵³ If united they destroy enemies like fire and wind that consume forests.⁵⁴ The *Vaiśyas* and the *Śūdras* had merely to accept their rules. They had no important, active and constructive share in the political affairs and administration of a state, although they also are reported to have exercised some power.⁵⁵ Thus, it is said in the Śānti Parva that out of thirty-seven ministers, there should be four *Brāhmaṇas*, eight *Kṣatriyas*, twenty-one *Vaiśyas*, three *Śūdras* and one *Sūta*.⁵⁶ The Epic further informs us that the *Vaiśyas*

52. Ibid., CLII, 14.

Ibid., Śānti, LXXVIII, 23. See also N. N. Ghosh : The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata—A Sociological Study, *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Pt. II, p. 373.

53. *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXIII, 28.

54. ब्राह्मं क्षत्रेण सहितं क्षत्रं च ब्रह्मणा सह ।

संयुक्तौ दहतः शत्रून् वनानीवाग्निमास्तौ ॥ Ibid., Vana, CLXXXV, 25.

55. R. S. Sharma : *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, pp. 189-90, 197. The *Mbh.* exhibits a tendency of amalgamation between the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Kṣatriyas* on the one hand and the *Vaiśyas* and the *Śūdras* on the other. The *Vaiśyas* are put on a par with the *Śūdras*. See *Mbh.* Ādi, CCXVI, 13-4.

56. चतुरो ब्राह्मणान् वैद्यान् प्रगल्भान् स्नातकाञ्शुचीन् ।

क्षत्रियांश्च तथा चाष्टौ बलिनः शस्त्रपाणिनः ॥

वैश्यान् वित्तेन सम्पन्नानेकविंशतिसंख्यया ।

त्रींश्च शूद्रान् विनीतांश्च शुचीन् कर्मणि पूर्वके ॥

अष्टामिंश्च गुणैर्युक्तं सूतं पौराणिकं यथा । Ibid., Śānti, LXXXV, 7-9.

The critical edition of the Epic, however, omits the last line of the 7th verse and the first line of the 8th verse. It is doubtful whether the *Vaiśyas* occupied such an important place so as to occupy twenty-one seats out of thirtyseven. Wealth being laid as their essential qualification in the passage, quoted above, it

and the *Śūdras*, along with the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Kṣatriyas*, were present in the royal courts,⁵⁷ were invited to attend the royal sacrifices and were given presents, consisting of gold, cows, ornaments, vessels and clothes.⁵⁸ We are informed that the leading *Śūdras* (*mānyān śūdrān*) were invited on the occasion of Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation.⁵⁹ That in rare cases, the members of a lower caste were appointed as high officers is known from the example of Karṇa.⁶⁰ He was made the king of Aṅgadeśa.⁶¹ Afterwards he was assigned the high and honourable post of the commander-in-chief (*senāpati*) of Duryodhana's army, during the War of Kurukṣetra.⁶²

The Mahābhārata informs us that the four *varṇas* were not deemed to be equal before law also. Different rules were laid down for different *varṇas* for the same offence.⁶³

may be remarked that if there was any respect and place for the *Vaiśyas*, it was for their wealth.

57. समुत्थिता सा हि सभा सपार्थिवा ।

सविप्रराजन्यविशःसशूद्रकाः । Ibid., Virāṭa, IX, 25, teste Kotiyal : *The Position of the Śūdras and the Untouchables in Ancient India* (A B.H. U. Ph.D. Thesis, unpublished), p. 117.

58. Ibid., Āśvamedhika, XC, 24-5. Cf. *Rām. Bāla Kāṇḍa*, Sarga XIII.

59. आमन्त्रयध्वं राष्ट्रेषु ब्राह्मणान् भूमिपानपि ।

विशश्च मान्यान्शूद्रान् सर्वानानयतेति च ॥ *Mbh. Sabhā*, XXX, 41-2; See also *ibid.*, XXXII, 17-18.

60. Ibid., Ādi, CXXVI, 35. See also the preceding *śloka*.

61. It is noteworthy that Karṇa was popularly known as the son of a *sūta* (Ibid., C, 23; CX, 23). In reality, however, he was a *Kānina* son of Kuntī (Ibid., LXIII, 98; CX, 18).

62. Ibid., Karṇa, X, 43.

63. R. S. Sharma, *op.cit.*, pp. 193-8, Emphasis on *Danḍa-Samatā* (equality in punishments) and *Vyavahāra-Samatā* (equality in the legal affairs) by Aśoka also leads to the same conclusion.

The discrimination, based on *varṇas*, was extended to a discrimination of sex also. In the Mahābhārata women as such have no value. In the words of Hopkins, she is regarded almost as "chattel and receives only the respect due from a sensible man to potentially valuable property".⁶⁴ Such being her position, women could not have any direct share in the conduct of the state. At one place, however, the Epic says that in the absence of a male successor, even a girl should be appointed as the king.⁶⁵

The relation between the state and the individual in the Mahābhārata had no democratic fervour of modern times. The *Brāhmanas* and the *Kṣatriyas* alone were the state and others had to accept their rules. They had a privileged position in society and there was no equality of citizens. The state was to see that *Varṇāśrama Dharma* was observed, for without it, social conditions were likely to be reduced to the state of anarchy.

Such a position did not mean that the state could do whatever it liked. The authority of the king was limited.⁶⁶ He had to follow all the rules⁶⁷ and behave in such a way that in practice there was an identification between the interests of the state and the individual. They did not want him to be a man with the sole obligation of satisfying his personal desires. Whatever he did, that should be in favour of his people. In the Mahābhārata⁶⁸ as well as other ancient

64. Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India, *JAOS*, Vol. XII, p. 331.

65. See *Infra*, Chap. IX, Ethics of War II, f.n. 238.

66. *Mbh.* Śānti, CCCXX, 37-9. See also Viswanatha : *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 48; Rapson (Ed.), *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 443.

67. *Sūkra*, IV, 1228.

68. *Mbh.* Ādi, CCVI; Sabhā, XIII, 9; Virāṭa, LXX, 24; Śānti, LXIX, 27-8; LXI, 18; LXXXVII, 32; LXIV, 29; CXXXIX, 103, 106-8.

Indian works⁶⁹, a king has been frequently exhorted to act like a father to his subjects. Moreover, the ruled had the right of appointing a king⁷⁰ as well as that of dethroning and abdicating⁷¹ and even of killing him, if he proved to be undutiful.⁷²

Grounds of Political Obligation : According to the Mahābhārata, people should respect their king and should bow down before him like the students before their preceptor and gods before Indra.⁷³ They should try their best to escape his defeat at the hands of an enemy⁷⁴ and should never oppose him.⁷⁵ From those passages of the Epic which deal with king, his divinity, duties and functions, necessity and importance and relation with the ruled, we come to know that the Mahābhārata emphasises political obligation on the following grounds :

Divinity of the King : The Mahābhārata, like other ancient Indian works, makes an attempt to invest the king's person with divine sanctity and his authority with divine sanction. This has been done in three ways—by saying that he was created by god, by saying that he was constituted by some

69. *Manu*, VII, 80, 135; *Sukra*, I, 17-8; *Raghuvamśa*, I.

70. *Mbh.* Ādi, XLIV, 6; LXXXV, 30-31; CXL, 23-7;

Vana, CCXCIX, 3-5; Śānti, LXVII, 2, 4; XCIII, 27. See also Anuśāsana, LXII, 80. A.P. Vajpai : *Hindu Rājyaśāstra*, pp. 112-4; A.K. Sen : *A Study in Hindu Political Thought*, p. 12.

71. *Mbh.* Udyoga, XXXIV, 26-7; Śānti, CXXXIX, 93; CL, 5;

Āśvamedhika, IV, 8-9; *Sukra*, I, 139; II, 264-6, 109-10.

72. *Mbh.* Anuśāsana, LXI, 32-3.

73. नमस्येरंश्च तं भक्त्या शिष्या इव गुरुं सदा ।

देवा इव च देवेन्द्र तत्र राजानमन्तिके ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LXVII, 34.

74. Ibid., LXVII, 36-7.

75. राजद्विष्टं न कर्तव्यमिति धर्मविदो विदुः । Ibid., Vana, CLXI, 11.

See also ibid., Śānti, LXVIII, 48.

particles of different deities and by saying that he possesses the characteristics of different gods.

In the Śānti Parva, Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma why people obey the king, who is equal to them in all respects. In reply Bhīṣma tells him that the king is obeyed and respected by his subjects because of his being appointed by Viṣṇu, who in consequence of his penances entered the body of the king and imparted his own lustre to him. According to Bhīṣma, the divinity of the monarch is the only reason for which the multitude live in obedience to him.⁷⁶

In the Mahābhārata a king has been called *naradeva* (god of men) and it is said that there is no difference between a god and a king.⁷⁷ In the Śānti Parva he has been compared, nay even identified, with Indra, Yama, Dharma and is said to adopt different forms.⁷⁸ In accordance with the circumstances and the demands of situations, he becomes Agni, Sūrya, Mṛtyu, Kubera and Yama.⁷⁹ According to

76. स विष्णुना च देवेन शक्रेण विबुधैः सह ॥
 ऋषिभिश्च प्रजापालैर्ब्राह्मणैश्चामिषेचितः ।
 स्थापनं चाकरोद्विष्णुः स्वयमेव सनातनः ॥
 नातिवर्तिष्यते कश्चिद्राजस्त्वमिति भारत ।
 तपसा भगवान्विष्णुराविवेश च भूमिपम् ।
 देववन्नरदेवानां नृपते यं जगन्नृपम् ॥
 को हेतुर्यद्वशे तिष्ठेल्लोको देवादृते गुणात् । Ibid., LIX, 116-7, 127-8.
 See also *ibid.*, Virāṭa, IV, 22.

77. देवाश्च नरदेवाश्च तुल्या इति विशाम्पते ॥ Ibid., Śānti LIX, 144.

78. इन्द्रो राजा यमो राजा धर्मो राजा तथैव च ।

राजा विभर्ति रूपाणि राज्ञा सर्वमिदं धृतम् ॥ Ibid., LXXII, 25.

79. Ibid., LXVIII, 41 ff. "The political doctrine of the *Mbb.* makes the king identical with a particular god in accordance with the emphasis which one may place on this or that function of royalty. The god with whom a king is considered as identical may, therefore, vary according to time, place and circumstances." S. Parama-

Manu, he is the embodiment of Agni, Candra, Sūrya, Vāyu, Indra, Yama, Kubera and Varuṇa.⁸⁰ Similar is the view of Śukra,⁸¹ who says that one should bow before the king, a form of Viṣṇu.⁸² Kauṭilya also deifies him.⁸³ The Mahābhārata⁸⁴ and the Manu Smṛti⁸⁵ lay down that nobody should disobey a king by taking him to be a man, because he is a great god in the form of a human being. Even gods do not disobey a righteous king.⁸⁶ In the

vitana : Some Aspects of Divinity of the King in Ancient India and Ceylon, *The Proceedings and Transactions of All-India Oriental Conference*, 16th session. p. 217.

80. सोमग्न्यर्कानिलेन्द्राणां वित्ताप्पत्योर्यमस्य च ।

अष्टानां लोकपालानां वपुर्धारयते नृपः ॥ *Manu*, V, 96. See also *Ibid.*, VII, 4-5.

81. I, 71 ff.

82. नत्वा नृपं यथान्यायं विष्णुरूपमिवापरम् । *Ibid.*, II, 211.

83. न राज्ञः परं दैवतम् । *Arthaśāstra*, Cāṇakya-praṇīta Sūtram, 370, p. 691.

84. न जात्वमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।

महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ *Mbh. Śānti*, LXVIII, 40.

85. बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।

महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ *Manu*, VII, 8.

Cf. काश्मीरायां तथा राजा त्वया ज्ञेयो हरांशजाः ।

तस्यावज्ञा न कर्तव्या सततं भूतिमिच्छता ॥

Nilamata Purāṇa, 237.

The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, 71-2 goes to the extent of saying that even a wicked (*duṣṭa*) king should not be disobeyed because of his divinity. Śukra, I, 70 however, says that a good king is possessed of divine elements (*devānīśa*) and a bad king, of demonial elements (*rākṣasānīśa*).

86. मनुषाणामधिपतिं देवभूतं सनातनम् ।

देवाणि नावमन्यन्ते धर्मकामं नरेश्वरम् ॥

Mbh. Śānti, LXV, 29.

In some of his coins, Kaṇiṣka is represented as descending from clouds. This seems to be indicative of divine kingship. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, Nov. 1903, pp. 427-32; J. N. Banerjee.

western political thought the conception of the divinity of kings increased their powers whereas in India only a dutiful king was regarded and the king, who did not behave properly was condemned and he could be handled differently.⁸⁷

State and Dharma : The Mahābhārata regards obedience to the state as obligatory on all, because the most important function of the state is to establish and maintain *Dharma*. The individual should obey the state because the state, under the direction of the sovereign, enforces *Svadharmā* in favour of the social good. In other words, it makes it easy for him to discharge his duties properly and thereby it leads him to *mokṣa*, the final goal of life. *Dharma* is the foundation on which the edifice of the ancient Indian States was based. The rules and regulations of a state were to be in accordance with the injunctions of the scriptures (*Dharmaśāstras*). Hence, it was believed that in obeying the state, the individual was, really speaking, obeying *Dharma*.⁸⁸

State and Daṇḍa : A great privilege of a state was its power of punishment or, as the Mahābhārata calls it, *Daṇḍa*. With the help of *Daṇḍa*, the state could make its citizen obey it and follow *Dharma*. One, who did not do so could be punished. It was due to the fear of punishment that people obeyed the state.⁸⁹

Development of Hindu Iconography, II Ed. p. 38. For details about the divinity of kings, Vide Bhandarkar : *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 161-4; Ghoshal : *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 167-72; Anjaria : *Nature and Ground of Political Obligation in Hindu State*, pp. 11-45; Hopkins : Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India, *JAOS*, Vol. XIII, p. 153. See also the *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 49 ff.

87. *Mbh. Śānti*, LVII, 44-5.

88. See *Supra*, The End of State, pp. 112 ff.

89. For details, Vide *Supra*, Chap. III. Ethics, pp. 101 ff.

Contractual view of political obligation : As we have seen, while dealing with the origin of state, people appointed king and promised to listen to what he said. In disobeying the state, it was believed, they violated the contract. This was the contractual view of political obligation.

Identification of the interests of the state with that of the people: The ancient Indian authors identified the interests of the state with those of the people.⁹⁰ According to the Mahābhārata, “a king is the heart of his people, he is their great refuge ; he is their glory and he is their highest happiness”.⁹¹ Whatever he does is in favour of the ruled. That is why the Epic lays emphasis on the obeisance of the state.

Assurance of protection (Rakṣaṇa) : Protection of the ruled was deemed to be one of the most important functions of a state by the ancient Indian authors on politics. As we have already seen while discussing the origin of state, people pay taxes because it assures them protection.⁹² The duty of protection, as remarked by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, is very “comprehensive and extends not merely to the promulgation and enforcement of ordinary laws but also for the maintenance of *Dharma*, for the latter is held to be necessary

90. प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ।

नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु हिते हितम् ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, I, 19.

प्रजासुखे सुखी राजा तदुखे यश्च दुःखितः ।

स कीर्तियुक्तो लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ *Viṣṇu Sainhitā*, III, 70.

Teste Iyengar in the Introduction of Dikshitar's *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. XXIV.

प्रजानन्देन संतुष्येत्तदुःखैः दुःखितो भवेत् । *Sūkra*, IV, 523.

91. राजा प्रजानां हृदयो गरीयो गतिः प्रतिष्ठा सुखमुत्तमम् च । *Mbb. Śānti*, LXVIII, 59.

Cf. राजा प्रजानां प्रथमं शरीरं प्रजाश्च राजोऽप्रतिमं शरीरम् । *Ibid.*, LXVIII, p. 4601 (Southern Recension, G.P. Ed.)

92. Ante, p. 112 and Infra, Monarchy and Morals, pp. 155-6.

to save the state from unseen and supernatural dangers... It is, therefore, under this comprehensive head that we have to bring all the works of the ancient Indian state in the department of what we should now call the Church, Education, Poor relief, the Police, Criminal and Civil Justice, Legislation, Medical relief, Public works, the army and the Navy and the consular and diplomatic service".⁹³ Since the state does so much for the people, it is quite in the fitness of things that it claims and deserves to be obeyed by its inhabitants.

Besides the above-mentioned grounds, political obligation was emphasised because it was not conceived of as conflicting with other obligations and because the state was grounded on facts which gathered round human nature.⁹⁴

To take a resume, *Dandanīti*, as conceived in the Epic, aimed at the realisation of *Dharma*. The state itself was based on *Dharma* and so were the other goals of life. The functions of the state included all that was deemed to be necessary for social needs. The state stood not merely for the promulgation and enforcement of ordinary laws but also for the maintenance of *Dharma*. Thus, the ancient Indian states aimed at the material, the moral, as well as the spiritual well-being of the community.

The inclusion of the maintenance of *Dharma* in the functions of state was due to the belief that *Dharma* helped the government to be more stable in every sense and under all circumstances. There was a sort of mutualism between the state and *Dharma*. The sanction behind the former's authority was that of the latter. State existed for supporting

93. *Considerations on some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 67.

94. Anjaria : *Nature and Ground of Political Obligation in Hindu State*, pp. 2 and 279 ff.

Dharma. States themselves were to act in conformity with an established moral code because *Dharma* was believed to guide them. This emphasis on *Dharma* imparted to the ancient Indian states the character of an institution, which aimed at the advancement of moral and spiritual welfare.

Danḍanīti was connected with *Trivarga*—the threefold end of human life. There were two schools of thought in this connection—*Dharmaśāstric* and *Arthaśāstric*. Though the latter assigned a secondary place to *Dharma*, yet it laid down that the boundaries of *Dharma* should not be transgressed by *Artha*. The king was to follow *Dharma* strictly because the king and *Dharma* were deemed to be reciprocally protective. Without the help of *Danḍanīti*, *Trivarga* could not be realised and without *Trivarga* the fourth *Puruṣārtha* i. e. *Mokṣa* (salvation) became impossible. The complete reliance on *Danḍanīti* by the monarch resulted in the *Satya* or the *Kṛta* Age, wherein *Dharma* predominated. Such a close relation between *Danḍanīti* and *Dharma* leads us to the conclusion that the ancient Indian states aimed at the attainment of the highest moral standards both by the king and the people.

CHAPTER V

MONARCHY AND MORALS

Types of Monarchy : In ancient India the different types of monarchy were based on the gradation of rulers¹ and the number of rulers. Generally there used to be one ruler in a state but sometimes we find mention of *Dvairājya* i. e., a state ruled by two kings simultaneously. This type occupies a unique place in the ancient Indian polity. This type of government seems to have been introduced by two leaders of two rival groups, either related or unrelated, who instead of dividing their kingdom might have preferred to rule jointly. The Mahābhārata does not refer to it directly, but it is said at three places in the Mahābhārata that Avantī had two kings, Vinda and Anuvinda, who were real brothers. They were defeated by Sahadeva.² In the Udyoga Parva, the two kings of Avantī are said to have gone to Duryodhana,

1. राजा भोजो विराट् सम्राट् क्षत्रियो भूपतिर्नृपः ।

य एभिः स्तूयते शब्दैः कस्तं नाचिनुमर्हति ॥ *Mbb. Sānti. LXVIII, 54.*

For details, vide Bhandarkar : *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* 1929, pp. 90-125; Spellman : *Political Theory of Ancient India*, pp. 64-8.

2. विन्दानुविन्दावावल्थौ सैन्येन महताऽऽवृत्तौ ।

जिगाय समरे वीरावाश्विनैयः प्रतापवान् ॥ *Mbb. Sabhā, XXXI, 10.*

with one *akṣauhiṇī* army³ to help him in the battle against the Pāṇḍavas. The Bhīṣma Parva informs us that Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti attacked Irāvān⁴ in the War of Kurukṣetra. There are other evidences also to prove the existence of *Dvairājya* in ancient India. We are informed by the Greek historians that at the time of Alexander's invasion, the kingdom of Pātala was being ruled jointly by two kings, who belonged to two different dynasties.⁵ That Kauṭilya also was familiar with this type of state is known from his Arthaśāstra wherein he says that the "rule of a country by two kings perishes owing to mutual hatred, partiality and rivalry".⁶ The Jain Ācārāṅga Sutta⁷ also refers to it. Kālidāsa, in his Mālavikāgnimitra hints at the existence of such states by mentioning Yajñasena and Mādhavasena, two brothers as the joint rulers.⁸ Nepal had two kings as late as the 7th century A. D. To quote Jayaswal, "In the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era, Nepal was under such a constitution. Simultaneous inscriptions of the kings of the Licchavi family and the Thakuri family are found at Kathamandu. These are orders issued from two places in the same capital and the dates prove that the two dynasties were ruling simultaneously".⁹

3. आवन्त्यौ च महीपालौ महाबलसुसंवृतौ ।

पृथगक्षौहिणीभ्यां तावमियातौ सुयोधनम् ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, IX, 24-5.

4. विन्दानुविदवावन्त्याविराजन्तमभिद्रुतौ । Ibid., Bhīṣma, LXXXI, 27.

5. McCrindle : *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 296.

6. द्वैराज्यमन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषानुरागाभ्यां परस्परसंघर्षेण वा विनश्यति । *Arthaśāstra*. (Ed. Shamasastri, 1919) VIII, 2, p. 325. Translation by Shamasastri (1956), p. 353.

7. अरायणि वा गणरायणि वा जुवरायणि वा दोरज्जणि वा

वैरज्जणि वा विरुद्धरज्जणि वा । *Ācārāṅga Sutta*, 2, 3, 1, 10.

8. *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Ed. K. P. Parab, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1924), V act, 13-4. pp. 100-101.

9. *Hindu Polity*, pp. 96-7. See also *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

N. N. Law, however, does not believe in their prevalence in ancient India. To him this "cannot be a normal form of government".¹⁰ As regards the *Dvairājya* in the Mahābhārata, he says, "the two chapters of the Mahābhārata mention the compound 'vindānuwindau' of Avantī. There is nothing else in the chapters to show that they were joint kings and did not rule over separate territories within the country of Avantī".¹¹ This view of Law is not in keeping with that verse of the Udyoga Parva, wherein they have been clearly described as the two kings of Avantī (*Avantyanu Mahīpālan*).¹² The conjecture of separate territories within Avantī appears fanciful, since the Mahābhārata makes no reference to the division of the country.

N. N. Law differs from Jayaswal and others as regards the significance of the Nepalese inscriptions. He agrees with Fleet who opines that "we have two separate families, ruling contemporaneously mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own...it seems pretty clear that the Licchavikula or Sūryavamśī family and the government of the territory to the east of the capital and the Thakuri family, of the territory to the west of it".¹³ In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to say the final word on this epigraphic evidence. But keeping in view the literary evidence, furnished by the Mahābhārata, the Ācārāṅga Sutta, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya,

Vol. III; Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors (Ed. J. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888), Appendix IV, pp. 177-94.

10. Law : Technical Hindu Constitutions, *IHQ*, Vol. I, p. 394.,

11. Ibid., p. 394.

12. See Supra, f. n. 3 of this chapter.

13. Quoted by Law : Technical Hindu Constitutions, *IHQ*, Vol. I, pp. 394-5.

Greek writers and the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, N. N. Law's view seems to be untenable.

Necessity and Importance of King : To avoid the evils of anarchy, the *Mahābhārata* emphasises the necessity of a king. The *Ādi Parva* informs us that Śṛṅgī, the son of Śamika, cursed king Parīkṣita, because the latter had placed a dead snake round the neck of Śamika. Śamika did not like this and told Śṛṅgī that he should not have cursed the king, because it was only after being protected by the king that one could practise *Dharma*.¹⁴ A king removes *adharma*, just as sun removes darkness.¹⁵ One should have a king first and then only think of wife and wealth.¹⁶ Like a hunter who controls deer with the help of arrows, a king checks those, who unfairly capture the property of others.¹⁷ Hence, the residents of a kingless state should submit to a powerful monarch.¹⁸

14. *Mbb.* *Adi*, XLI, 20-31.

Śamika had taken the vow of silence (*Mauna-vrata*). Hence, he did not answer the questions put forth by Parīkṣita. The king however, had no knowledge of his *Mauna-vrata*. Therefore, he got annoyed and placed the dead snake round his neck. *Ibid.*, Chap. CLIX.

एवमेव प्रजाः सर्वा राजानमभिसंश्रिताः ॥

सम्यग् वृत्ताः स्वधर्मस्थान कुतश्चिद् भयान्विताः । *Ibid.*, *Śānti*, LXXIII, 18-9.

15. *Ibid.*, *Vana*, CLXXXV, 30-31; *Śānti*, LXVIII, 10-13.

16. राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत् ततो भार्या ततो धनम् । *Ibid.*, *Ādi*. CLIX, 12.

एवं ये भूतिमिच्छेयुः पृथिव्यां मानवाः क्वचित् ।

कुर्यु राजानमेवाग्रे प्रजानुग्रहकारणात् ॥ *Ibid.*, *Śānti*, LXVIII, 33.

17. तमतिक्रान्तमर्यादमाददानमसाम्प्रतम् ।

प्रतिषेधन्ति राजानो लुब्धा मृगमिवेषुभिः ॥ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 9; *Ibid.*, LXVIII, 14-16 & 19.

18. *Ibid.*, LXVII, 6-7.

In the Śānti Parva, Bhīṣma refers to the dialogue, once held between king Vasumanā and Br̥haspati. The former told the latter that *Dharma* is based on the king, because it is due to his fear that people do not devour i. e. trouble others.¹⁹ Manu expresses the same view by saying that in his absence, stronger people eat the weaker ones (i. e. trouble them) like the bigger fishes that devour the smaller ones.²⁰

The Mahābhārata, therefore, condemns the anarchical state and speaks highly about the state, ruled by a righteous monarch. The people of such a state have always been represented as stronger and happier than those of a state, where anarchy prevails. This is known from the condition of the state, ruled righteously by Duṣyanta. Mixture of castes (*Varṇa Samikara*) was not present and people were righteous. There were no thieves, rains poured in proper time and the earth was full of precious and valuable things.²¹

The Rāmāyaṇa also elaborately describes the evils of anarchy. According to Vālmīki, in a kingless state, the rains, necessary for crops, do not pour.²² A son does not obey his father and a wife, her husband.²³ The kingless people have the same fate as the cows, without a cowherd.²⁴ Like fishes, men devour one another.²⁵ The wicked people, who transgress all the limits (*maryādā*), become powerful.²⁶

19. राजमूलो महाप्राज्ञ धर्मो लोकस्य रक्ष्यते ।

प्रजा राजभयादेव न खादन्ति परस्परम् ॥ Ibid., LXVIII, 8,

नियन्ता चेन्न विद्येत न कश्चिद्धर्ममाचरेत् । Ibid., Virāṭa, LXVIII, 45-

20. *Manu*, VII, 20.

21. *Mbh.* Ādi, LXVIII, 3-15.

22. *Ayodhyā*, LXVII, 9-10.

23. नाराजके पितुः पुत्रो भार्या वा वर्तते वशे । Ibid., LXVII, 10.

24. अगोपाला यथा गावस्तथा राष्ट्रमराजकम् ॥ Ibid., LXVII, 29.

25. नाराजके जनपदे स्वकं भवति कस्यचित् ।

मत्स्या इव जना नित्यं भक्षयन्ति परस्परम् ॥ Ibid., LXVII, 31.

26. Ibid., LXVII, 32.

To Kauṭilya the king, being capable of establishing order and promoting the welfare of the people,²⁷ is necessary. Kāmandaka holds the same view and says that the king is at the root of the prosperity of the world.²⁸ According to Śukra, in a kingless state people do not do their duties.²⁹ They have to face great calamities.³⁰

In brief, an anarchical state was condemned and the necessity of a king was emphasised by ancient Indians. They further laid down that the king should be righteous. The condition of the state, ruled by an unrighteous king was deplorable.³¹ A king is the maker of four ages (*yugas*)³². By creating the *Satya Age*, a king lives permanently in the heaven. If he causes the *Tretā Age*, his stay in the heaven is temporary. By setting in the *Dvāpara Age*, the king earns merits in accordance with his good and bad deeds. That king, who causes *Kali Age*, earns great sin and goes to

27. राजानः प्रजानां योगक्षेमवहाः । *Arthasāstra*, 1, 13, 8.

28. राजाऽस्य जगतो हेतुवृद्धैर्बुद्धाभिसम्मतः । *Kāmandaka*, I, 9.

29. नातिष्ठन्ते स्वधर्मे विना पालेन वै प्रजाः । *Śukra*, I, 66.

30. *Ibid.*, I, 65.

31. न तत् कुलं न चाचारो न धर्मोऽर्थः कुतः सुखम् ।

यत्र पापसहायोऽयं पापो राज्यं चिकीर्षति ॥ *Mbh.* Vana, I, 15.

राजैव कर्ता भूतानां राजैव च विनाशकः ।

धर्मात्मा यः स कर्ता स्यादधर्मात्मा विनाशकः ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti, XCI, 9. For a description of the conditions of the state ruled by an unrighteous king, Vide *ibid.*, XCI, 10-13.

32. कालो वा कारणं राज्ञो राजा वा कालकारणम् ।

इति ते संशयो मा भूद् राजा कालस्य कारणम् ॥

राजा कृतयुगल्लप्ता त्रेताया द्वापरस्य च ।

युगस्य च चतुर्थस्य राजा भवति कारणम् ॥ *Ibid.*, Udyoga, CXXXII, 16-7; cf. Śānti, LXIX, 79 ff; XCI, 6; CXLI, 10; *Śukra*, I, 20, 22, 60.

hell.³³ This shows that the office of the king was one of great responsibility.

Qualifications of a King : The ancient Indian thinkers held that if the king was corrupt, he encouraged others too, to be dishonest because as was the king, so were the people.³⁴ Hence, the Mahābhārata lays down some virtues and qualifications, necessary for a king. They are as follows :

Satya (truth) : According to the Epic, truth and nothing else is the key to success. A truthful ruler enjoys here as well as hereafter,³⁵ whereas that king, who speaks a lie perishes.³⁶ Hence, a king should avoid untruth³⁷ and stick to truth.³⁸

33. कृतस्य करणाद् राजा स्वर्गमन्त्यन्तमश्नुते ।
 त्रेतायाः करणाद् राजा स्वर्गं नात्यन्तमश्नुते ॥
 प्रवर्तनाद् द्वापरस्य यथाभागमुपाश्नुते ।
 कलेः प्रवर्तनाद्राजा पापमत्यन्तमश्नुते ॥
 ततो वसति दुष्कर्मा नरके शाश्वती समाः ॥
Mbb. Udyoga, CXXXII, 18-20.
34. राजा प्रमाणं भूतानाम् । *Ibid.*, Ādi, LXXXII, 18.
 यद्यदाचरते राजा तत्प्रजानां स्म रोचते । *Ibid.*, Śānti, LXXXV, 4.
 राजानमनुवर्तन्ते । *Ibid.*, XCIII, 2.
 यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठः तत्तदेवेतरे जनाः ।
 स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥ *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma, XXIII, 21. See also
 Śānti, CCLXVII, 26-7, 29; CCLXXXVII, 57; *Sūkṛa*, IV, 56-8.
35. न हि सत्यादृते किञ्चिद्वाजां वै सिद्धिकारणम् ।
 सत्ये हि राजा निरतः प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ॥ *Mbb.* Śānti, LVI, 17.
36. राजा प्रमाणं भूतानां स नश्यति मृषा वदन् । *Ibid.*, Ādi, LXXXII, 18.
37. मृषावादं परिहरेत् । *Ibid.*, Śānti, XCIII, 9. See also *ibid.*, Ādi
 LXXXII, 18.
38. सत्यं राजसु शोभते ।
Ibid., Sabhā, XXI, 44; See also *Anuśāsana*, CLXVII, 49; *Vana*,
 V, 21; Śānti, LXVIII, 60; CXX, 5; *Manu*, VII, 31.

Self-control : A king should proceed to conquer his enemies, ministers and others only after having control over himself.³⁹ Kauṭilya stresses the necessity of self-restraint for a monarch⁴⁰ and refers to the kings, who perished, because they lacked self-control.⁴¹ Śukra re-echoes the Mahābhārata by saying that a king should have control first over himself and then over his sons, ministers and servants.⁴² Self-restraint, according to Śukra, leads to happiness here and hereafter⁴³ and earns prosperity and fame for the king.⁴⁴ The Manu Smṛti⁴⁵, the Matsya Purāṇa⁴⁶ and the Agni Purāṇa⁴⁷ also lay stress on this moral virtue.

Courtesy and Modesty (Vinaya) : Courtesy and modesty (*vinaya*) should be present in a king, desirous of ruling for a long time.⁴⁸ Kauṭilya also stresses their importance for

39. आत्मा जेया सदा राज्ञा ततो जेयाश्च शत्रवः ।

अजितात्मा नरपतिर्विजयेत कथं रिपून् ॥ *Mbb.* Śānti, LXIX, 4. See also, Udyoga, XXXIV, 57-8, 68; CXXIX, 10-11, 22-3, 28-30; Bhīṣma, XXVI, 60ff; Śānti, LVI, 19; LXVII, 39, CXVIII, 19; CXX, 8; CCLXVII, 29; Āśramavāsika, V, 13.

40. राज्यमूलमिन्द्रियजयः । *Arthaśāstra*, Cāṇakya-Praṇīta Sūtram, 4, p. 604.

41. *Arthaśāstra Trans. Shamasatry* (1956), p. 11; *Ibid.*, (Ed. G. P. Shastri) Bk. I, Chap. 6, pp. 16-7.

42. आत्मानं प्रथमं राजा विनयेनोपपादयेत् ।

ततः पुत्रास्ततोऽमात्यास्ततो भृत्यास्ततः प्रजाः । Śukra, I, 92. See also IV, 65.

43. *Ibid.*, I, 122.

44. *Ibid.*, I, 150; I, 97-101.

45. जितेन्द्रियो हि शक्नोति वशे स्थापयितुं प्रजाः ॥ *Manu*, VII, 44.

46. जितेन्द्रियो हि शक्नोति वशे स्थापयितुं प्रजाः ॥ *Matsya Purāṇa*, 215, 54.

47. जितेन्द्रियो हि शक्नोति वशे स्थापयितुं प्रजाः । *Agni Purāṇa*, 225, 22.

48. दुर्विनीताः श्रियं प्राप्य विद्यामैश्वर्यमेव च ।

तिष्ठन्ति न चिरं भद्रे यथाहं मदगर्वितः ॥ *Mbb.* Vana, CCXLIX, 18. See also Vana, CCLXXIV, 11; Udyoga, XXXIV, 10-12.

kings.⁴⁹ Manu says that several kings perished on account of their absence and even those, living in the forest gained their kingdoms with their help.⁵⁰ To Kāmandaka, *Vinaya* is at the root of policy.⁵¹ A king should see that the princes were disciplined and were taught *Vinaya*, otherwise the whole family was likely to be ruined.⁵² The Agni Purāṇa emphasises its importance because without it, a king perishes and with it he gains a kingdom.⁵³

Protecting a Suppliant (Śaraṇāgata-rakṣā) : The Mahābhārata says that a king should be compassionate. He should give shelter even to an enemy, if he asks for it. The liberation of a foe from distress is equal to the bestowal of a boon, sovereignty and the birth of a son.⁵⁴ Moreover, one, who does not give shelter to a suppliant, has to face the following evil consequences : the harvests are not good, rains do not pour in time, efforts prove futile, one falls from heaven, children die, ancestors go to hell and Indra along with other gods, attacks him.⁵⁵

49. विद्याविनीतो राजा हि प्रजानां विनये रतः ।

अनन्यां पृथिवीं भुङ्क्ते सर्वभूतहिते रतः ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, I, 5, 18.

50. बहवोऽविनया नष्टा राजानः सपरिच्छदा ।

वनस्था अपि राज्यानि विनयात् प्रतिपेदिरे ॥ *Manu*, VII, 40.

51. नयस्य विनयो मूलं । *Kāmandaka*, I, 19.

52. विनयोपग्रहान्भृत्यैः कुर्वीत नृपतिः सुतान् ।

अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विनश्यति ॥ *Ibid.*, VII, 5.

53. नश्येदविनयाद्राजा राज्यं च विनयाल्लभेत् ॥ 226, 21; cf. *Sukra*, I, 147

54. *Mbh.* Vana, CCXLIII, 12-3.

55. न तस्य बीजं रोहति रोहकाले न तस्य वर्षं वर्षति वर्षकाले ।

भीतं प्रपन्नं प्रददाति शत्रवे न स त्रातारं लभते त्राणमिच्छन् ॥

मोघमन्त्रं विन्दति चाप्यचेताः स्वर्गाल्लोकाद्भ्रश्यति नष्टचेष्टः ।

भीतं प्रपन्नं प्रददाति यो वै न तस्य हव्यं प्रतिगृह्णन्ति देवाः ॥

Śīla (virtuous behaviour) : Virtuous behaviour also was praiseworthy in a king. It helped a king to earn prosperity. Even the three *Lokas* could be won with its help.⁵⁶ Moreover, on good behaviour were dependent the virtues like *Dharma* (righteousness), *Satya* (truth), *Vṛtta* (good conduct) and *Bala* (power).⁵⁷

Proper Company : Company plays an important part in the formation of one's character. A king should live in the company of good men. He should repair to the forest and live there with wild beasts, but he should never live in the midst of robber-like and corrupt ministers and officers.⁵⁸

Knowledge of Scriptures : The knowledge of scriptures was an important requisite for the king. He should follow the (injunctions of the) scriptures, because without it a king perishes even if he be powerful.⁵⁹ Kauṭilya also praises a king who follows the *Nītiśāstra*.⁶⁰ Manu regards it as a necessary qualification of a king⁶¹ and Kāmandaka goes to the extent of saying that a king, who has no knowledge of scriptures, is blind.⁶²

Dāna (donations) : A king, according to the Mahābhārata, should indulge in performing sacrifices and making donations

प्रमीयते चास्य प्रजा ह्यकाले सदा विवासं पितरोऽस्य कुर्वन्ते ।

भीतं प्रपन्नं प्रददाति शत्रवे सेन्द्रा देवाः प्रहरन्त्यस्य वज्रम् ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, XII, 19-21.

56. Ibid., Śānti, CXXIV, 14-5.

57. धर्मं सत्यं तथा वृत्तं बलं चैव तथाप्यहम् ।

शीलमूला महाप्राज्ञ सदा नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ Ibid., CXXIV, 62.

58. Ibid., Śānti, CXXXIII, 11-4; LXXXIII, 16-7.

59. Ibid., CXX, 22.

60. नीतिशास्त्रानुगो राजा । *Arthaśāstra*, Cāṇakya Praṇītam Sūtram, 47, p. 676.

61. सर्वलोकाधिपत्यं च वेदशास्त्रविदर्हति ॥ XII, 10. See also VII, 30-31.

62. अशास्त्रश्चक्षुः नृपतिरन्ध इत्यभिधीयते । *Kāmandaka*, XIV, 3.

in favour of the *Brāhmaṇas*.⁶³ By giving donations, a king earns the merit of a horse-sacrifice.⁶⁴ Hence, a donor should be made the king.⁶⁵

Forgiveness (kṣamā) : The Mahābhārata praises *kṣamā*, specially in powerful men.⁶⁶ A king should forgive an old man, a child and a sick man. One who forgives them, even though troubled by them, goes to heaven and one, who does not do so, to hell.⁶⁷ According to Śukra, he is a powerful king, who forgives even a guilty person. A king, without *kṣamā*, is not praiseworthy, even if he be possessed of other virtues.⁶⁸

Respect for the Elders : A king should never go against the preceptor and the *Brāhmaṇas*.⁶⁹ Reverence towards the elders is at the root of modesty and courtesy,⁷⁰ upon which the success of a monarch depends. Śukra wants a king to worship gods and to respect his elders as if they were gods.⁷¹ Learned men also should be respected.⁷²

Activism and Exertion : The Mahābhārata does not take a despondent view of the world. It lays stress on exertion and activism and says that man's efforts are superior to destiny.⁷³ According to it a king should be active and

63. *Mbh.* Anuśāsana, LXI, 4-9.

64. *Ibid.*, Śānti, CCCXX, 159-60.

65. *Ibid.*, XCIII, 27. For details see *Ibid.*, Chap. CLXV.

66. See *Supra*, Chap. III, Ethics, p. 82.

67. *Manu*, VII, 312-3.

68. *Śukra*, I, 82.

69. *Mbh.* Vana, CLVII, 21-2.

70. विनयस्य मूलं वृद्धोपसेवा ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, Cāṇakya Praṇītam Sūtram, 5-6.

71. *Śukra*, I, 171.

72. Vide *Infra*, pp. 158-61.

73. *Mbh.* Udyōga, XXXIX, 52.

QUALIFICATIONS OF A KING

137

not lethargical.⁷⁴ A staunch supporter of activism, the Epic repeatedly says that he should never be inactive⁷⁵ because one, who is inactive has to face difficulties.⁷⁶ Moreover, such a king is destroyed (easily) like an anthill.⁷⁷

Valour and strength : The Mahābhārata establishes the superiority of *Bala* over *Dharma* and says that the latter follows the former.⁷⁸ One, possessed of power (*Bala*), is made a king.⁷⁹

Monarchy being the normal and popular form of government in the Mahābhārata, such *ślokas* occur frequently, wherein it has been laid down that a king should possess the above-mentioned virtues and qualifications.⁸⁰ A king should pay due attention to character and conduct. The lost property can be regained, but if character is lost, everything is lost.⁸¹

74. Ibid., Śānti, VIII, 5. Cf. *Śukra*, IV, 282, 1125-7.

75. तस्मात् कर्मैव कर्तव्यं नास्ति सिद्धिरकर्मणः । *Mbh.* Śānti, X, 28.

यथा सृष्टोऽसि कौन्तेय धात्रा कर्मसु तत्कुरु ।

अतएव हि सिद्धिस्ते.....॥ Ibid., XXVII, 34.

कर्मणैव हि संसिद्धिमास्थिता जनकादयः । Ibid., Bhīṣma, XXVII, 20.

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।

मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भू मा ते संगोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥ Ibid., XXVI, 47.

76. Ibid., Śānti, CXXXIX, 83.

77. अनारम्भपरो राजा बल्मीक इव सीदति । Ibid., Sabhā, XV, 11-2. Vide V. S. Agrawala : *Kalā Aura Saṁskṛti* p. 51 for a discussion about *Pāṇivāda* in the *Mbh.*

78. वीर्यश्रेष्ठोऽयं राजानो बलं धर्मोऽनुवर्तते । *Mbh.* Ādi, CXXXVI, 19.

79. बलवाञ्जायते राजा । Ibid., Udyoga, XI, 4; See also Śānti, CXXXIX, 84; *Śukra*, I, 175-7.

80. *Mbh.* Śānti, LXVIII, 60; LXIX, 31-2; LXXX, 1-13; LXXXIII, 16-7; LXXXVIII, 32; XCIV, 10; CXXIV, 34 ff; CXL, 21; CLII, 7-8; Anuśāsana, CXLI, 49-53; CXLIII, 37-8; *Yājñavalkya*, I, 309-11.

81. वृत्तं यत्नेन संरक्षेद् वित्तमेति च याति च ।

अक्षीणो वित्ततः क्षीणो वृत्ततस्तु हतो हतः ॥ *Mbh.* Udyoga, XXXVI, 30.

Vices to be Shunned and Avoided by a King : According to the Mahābhārata virtues bring prosperity and help a king in making achievements, whereas vices present hindrances on the path of progress and finally, lead to the downfall of a king or a kingdom. These vices are as follows—*pramāda* (carelessness)⁸², *lobha* (greed), *moha* (ignorance)⁸³ and *abhicāra*.⁸⁴ According to the *Dharma Vyādha* (the righteous hunter) *abhicāra* results in the decrease of *Dharma* and increase of *Adharma*. “Sin beginneth to prosper. And when all this taketh place, the subjects of the king begin to decay. And it is then, O *Brāhmaṇa*, that ill-looking monsters, and dwarfs, and hunch-backed and large-headed wights, and men that are blind or deaf or those that have paralysed eyes or are destitute of the power of procreation, begin to take birth. It is from the sinfulness of kings that their subjects suffer numerous mischiefs”.⁸⁵ Śakuni mentions lack of control over sudden accession of happiness (*harṣa*) and sorrow (*dainya*),

82. Ibid., Sabhā, XLV, 65; XLVI, 17; LXXV, 10.

83. Ibid., LXXV, 10.

84. Ibid., Vana, CCVII, 35.

The word *abhicāra* has been variously interpreted. According to Apte, it means “enchanting, employment of magical spells for malevolent purposes, magic itself and killing”. Vide his *Students’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, SV *Abhicāra*, p. 38. Commentator Nilakaṇṭha however, explains it ‘as *Svaira gati*’, which means to follow one’s will or fancy, wantonness, uncontrol and unrestraint, Vide Apte’s *Students’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, SV. *Svaira* and *Svairatā*, p. 633. Keeping in view the references, all these meanings seem to be correct.

85. अभिचारान्नरेन्द्राणां धर्मः संकीर्यते महत् ।

अधर्मो वर्धते चापि संकीर्यन्ते ततः प्रजाः ॥

मेरुं डाः धामनाः कुब्जाः स्थूलशीर्षास्तथैव च ।

बली बान्धाश्च बधिरा जायन्तेऽत्युच्चलोचनाः ॥

पार्थिवानामधर्मत्वात् प्रजानामभवः सदा ॥ *Mbb.* Vana, CCVII, 35-7.

letharginess (*dīrghasūtrātā*), carelessness (*pramāda*), fear (*bhīrutā*), unmanliness (*klibatva*), evil habits (*vyasana*), attachment to the objects of sense-organs (*viṣayākrāntatā*) as the vices and disqualifications, on account of which a king is ruined (even) after the attainment of prosperity, like an unbaked earthen jar in water.⁸⁶

A king should avoid *abhimāna* (pride). Nārada informs us that due to this vice alone, all the merits of Yayāti were destroyed and he became an object of contempt.⁸⁷ Pitāmaha told the same thing to Yayāti in these words, "The merit, augmented by a (virtuous) rule over thy subjects for many thousand of years and won by innumerable sacrifices and gifts, was exhausted by only one fault, in consequence of which thou wert hurled (from this region) : That fault, O king of kings, was thy vanity, for which thou hast become an object of contempt with all the residents of heaven : O royal sage, this region can never be made eternal by vanity, or pride of strength, or malice, or deceitfulness, or deception. . . There is no greater sinner than he, who is consumed by the fire of vanity."⁸⁸

A king should always avoid *kāma* (desires and passion) and *krodha* (anger).⁸⁹ They are eternal enemies and it is only after defeating them that a king attains victory.⁹⁰ Kauṭilya says that the kings, dominated by these are known

86. Ibid., CCLI, 4-5.

87. Ibid., Udyoga, CXXIII, 7-9.

88. Ibid., CXXIII, 14-7; P. C. Ray's rendering adopted.

89. Ibid., Śānti, XXIV, 13-4.

90. कामक्रोधौ हि पुरुषमर्थेभ्यो व्यपकर्षतः ।

तौ तु शत्रू विनिर्जित्य राजा विजयते महीम् ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, CXXIX, 24.

See also, XXXIII, 104; CXXIX, 31; Śānti, LXXI, 6-8; CX, 20.

Cf. क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः संमोहात्स्मृतिविभ्रमः ।

स्मृतिभ्रंशाद् बुद्धिनाशो बुद्धिनाशात्प्रणश्यति ॥ Ibid., Bhīṣma, XXVI, 63.

to have been ruined due to the anger of the *Prakertis*.⁹¹ Śukra also wants a king to keep away from *kāma* and *krodha*⁹² and refers to the consequences that take place if the king be influenced by them.⁹³ According to Kāmandaka, *kāma* should be avoided because it is the cause of the vices like gambling, hunting, (love for) women and drinking.⁹⁴

A king should never be lethargic and lazy,⁹⁵ because laziness is a great enemy of men.⁹⁶ Even though weak, a king, who is not lazy is able to defeat his enemies even if they are strong.⁹⁷

At several places, the Mahābhārata says that a king should shun these as well as other vices like sleep (in excess) fear, drowsiness, attachment, strong words and hard punishments.⁹⁸ At one place the Śānti Parva condemns these, only when indulged in too freely. A king might practise them 'with discretion' (*yuktyā*).⁹⁹ Kāmandaka also refers

91. प्रायश्च कोपवशा राजानः प्रकृतिकोपैर्हता श्रूयन्ते ॥

कामवशाः क्षयव्यसननिमित्तमतिव्याधिभिरिति ॥ *Arthasāstra*, VII, 3, 8-9, p. 499.

92. *Śukra*, I, 116-7; IV, 59-60.

93. *Ibid.*, IV, 61-2

94. XIV, 7.

95. *Mbh.* Śānti, CXII, 17.

96. आलस्यं हि मनुष्याणां शरीरस्थो महारिपुः । *Nitiśataka* of Bhartṛhari, 87.

97. *Mbh.* Sabhā, XV, 11-2.

98. षड् दोषा पुरुषेण ह हातव्या भूतिमिच्छता ।

निद्रा तन्द्रा भयं क्रोध आलस्यं दीर्घसूत्रता ॥ *Ibid.*, Udyoga, XXXIII, 78.
See also Sabhā, LXVIII, 20-21; Udyoga, XXXIII, 91-2; CXXIX, 32-5; Śānti, LXXV, 14; CV, 5; CXLII, 31; *Manu*, VII, 46-53; *Śukra*, I, 116-7.

99. पानमक्षास्तथा नार्यो मृगया गीतवादितम् ।

एतानि युक्त्या सेवेत प्रसंगो ह्यत्र दोषवान् ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, CXL, 26

to these vices and adds untruth, cruelty and pride to the list.¹⁰⁰

Manu says that a king should avoid *kāma*, *krodha* and *moha*, if he wants to be followed by his people like the rivers that follow the sea.¹⁰¹ According to Śukra, he should avoid hunting (*mṛgayā*), gambling (*akṣa*), *kāma*, *krodha*, *moha*, *lobha*, *māna* and *mada*. He refers to those kings, who attained success because they shunned these vices.¹⁰² He advises a king never to kill time or indulge with women and never to take wine.¹⁰³

As regards gambling, Vidura says that it serves as a cause of hostility among kings.¹⁰⁴ In the words of Kṛṣṇa to Duryodhana, gambling deprives a good man of his wisdom and gives rise to disunion and dire consequences. It is a source of calamity too.¹⁰⁵ In his opinion, gambling is the foremost among the deceitful plans. That is why he says "out of all fraudulent affairs I am gambling".¹⁰⁶

Manu also condemns gambling because, "gambling has been known to create great enmities of yore. Hence, a wise man must not gamble with dice, even out of fun or sport".¹⁰⁷

100. मृगयाक्षास्तथा पानं गहितानि महीभुजाम् ।

दृष्टास्तेभ्यस्तु विपदः पाण्डुनैषधवृष्णिषु ॥ *Kāmandaka*, I, 54.

See also *ibid.*, X, 39; XIII, 61.

101. कामक्रोधौ तु संयम्य योऽर्थात् धर्मेण पश्यति ।

प्रजास्तमनुवर्तन्ते समुद्रमिव सिन्धवः ॥ *Manu*, VIII, 175; See also *ibid.*, VIII, 173-4.

102. *Śukra*, I, 141-5.

103. *Ibid.*, I, 285.

104. द्यूतमेतत् पुराकल्पे दृष्टं वैरकृतं नृणाम् ।

तस्माद्यूतं न सेवेत ह्यस्यार्थमपि बुद्धिमान् ॥ *Mbh.* Udyoga, XXXVII, 19.

105. *Ibid.*, CXXVIII, 5-6.

106. द्यूतं छलयतामस्मि । *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma, XXXIV, 36. *

107. *Manu*, IX, 227.

Kauṭilya condemns gambling in these words, "Especially amongst assemblies and confederacies of kings, possessing the characteristics of assemblies, quarrel is due to gambling.... Hence, among evil propensities, gambling is the worst evil, since it renders the king powerless for activity".¹⁰⁸

Kāmandaka holds the same view. He prohibits this game, because it results in the expenditure of wealth, collected by working hard for many days. Moreover, it is associated with vices like untruth, cruelty, anger, greed, violation of *Dharma*, absence of activity (*Karmanāmapravartanam*), dislike for the company of good men and desire to be in the company of bad men, waste of money, animosity, optimism, attachment, quick and sudden accession of anger and joy, indifference towards purity and exercise, physical weakness, negligence of (injunctions, laid down in) the scriptures etc.¹⁰⁹

Śukra includes gambling in the list of things, not to be done without the sanction of the state. This list consists of gambling, drinking, hunting and distillation of wines etc.¹¹⁰

The complete picture of an ideal king, thus presented, makes him a highly virtuous and moral person, free from

108. *Arthaśāstra*, translated by Shamasastri, Bk. I, XV, pp. 461-2.

109. *Kāmandaka*, XIV, 43-8; 51-2.

110. *Śukra*, I. 603-8 Teste B. K. Sarkar : *Theory of Constitution in Hindu Political Philosophy*, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee *Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Pt. II. p. 503.

Abul Fazl-I-Altānī mentions ten-fold vice, which do harm to a king and to his kingdom. He says, "The principal occasions of unruliness of desires which cause the downfall of princes are said to be ten, (1) The pursuit of game, (2) Dicing, (3) Sleep, (4) Consciousness, (5) Intercourse with women, (6) Singing songs (*naqsh guftan*), (7) Dancing, (8) The society of musicians, (9) Wine and (10) Solitude. *Ain-I-Akbarī* : Translated by Jarett; Pt. III., p. 274.

all vices and possessing qualities leading to a noble existence for him as well as for his subjects and kingdom.

Monarchy and Morals in Practice : As regards the practice, it must be admitted that this idealism of monarchy was sometimes observed and sometimes kings failed to live up to it. It is known from the Sabhā Parva that Dharmarāja Yudhiṣṭhira was an ideal king. He always stuck to truth, protected his people properly, vanquished his foes, levied equitable taxes, filled his treasury by righteous means, performed sacrifices and was compassionate. Consequently, people were satisfied and attached to him, they observed *Varṇāśrama dharma* (the ordained duties) and there were no droughts and floods. There was no epidemic and untimely (i. e. premature) deaths did not take place. Even robbers and cheats did not speak a lie. Trade and agriculture prospered. Clouds poured as much rain as was required and cities and towns flourished. This satisfactory state of affairs was due to the dutifulness of Yudhiṣṭhira.¹¹¹

Almost similar description of the ideal condition, prevailed under the rule of king Janaka of Mithilā,¹¹² king Uśinara of Kāśī,¹¹³ Hayagrīva,¹¹⁴ King Bhīma of Vidarbha,¹¹⁵ King Nala of Niṣadha¹¹⁶, Dhṛtarāṣṭra¹¹⁷ and the sixteen kings, mentioned by Nārada in the Śoḍaśarājakiya section of

111. *Mbh.* Sabhā, Chap. XXXIII. See also Ādi, CCVIII, 6-8; P. N. Mullick : *Mahābhārata As It was Is and Shall Be*, pp. 509-20.

112. *Mbh.* Vana, CCVII, 37-9; Śānti, Chap. XXXII; CCXXVI, 25-51; CCCXXV, 6, 11.

113. *Ibid.*, Vana, Chaps, CXXXI, CXC VII; Anuśāsana, Chap. XXXII.

114. *Ibid.*, Śānti, XXIV, 23-4.

115. *Ibid.*, Vana, LXIV, 44-7.

116. *Ibid.*, LVII, 43-5; LXIV, 77-83. Nala had but one defect. He was addicted too much to gambling. Vide *infra*, pp. 145 ff.

117. *Ibid.*, Āśramavāsika, X, 14-22.

the Droṇa Parva.¹¹⁸ In the Anuśāsana Parva, Bhīṣma refers to some ideal kings of ancient times and tells Yudhiṣṭhira that by remembering them in the morning (i. e., by following their example) a king earns merit. The list contains the names of Mṛga, Yayāti, Nahuṣa,¹¹⁹ Yadu, Puru, Viryavān, Dhundhumāra, Dilīpa, Sāgara, Kṛśāśva, Yauvanāśya, Citrāśva, Satyavān, Duṣyanta, Bharata, Pavana, Janaka, Dṛṣṭaratha, Raghu, Daśaratha, Rāma, Śaśabindu, Bhagīratha, Hariścandra, Marutta, Dṛḍharatha, Mahodārya, Alarka, Aila, Karandhama, Dakṣa, Ambarīṣa, Raivata, Jahnu, Pṛthu, Mitrabhānu, Trasadasyu, Śveta, Mahābhīṣa, Nimi, Aṣṭaka, Āyu, Kṣupa, Kakṣeya, Pratardana, Divodāsa, Sudāsa, Purūravā, Nala, Manu, Havidhra, Pṛṣadhara, Pratīpa, Śāntanu, Aja, Prācinabarhi, Ikṣvāku, Anāranya, Janajaṅgha and Kakṣasena.¹²⁰

In the Ādi Parva, Sañjaya refers to Śaibya, Śṛṇjaya, Suhotra, Rantideva, Kakṣivān, Auṣija, Bāhlika, Damana, Caidya, Śaryāti, Nala, Viśvāmitra, Ambarīṣa, Marutta, Manu, Ikṣvāku, Gaya, Bharata, Dāśarathī Rāma, Śaśabindu, Bhāgīratha, Kṛtavīrya and Janamejaya as ideal kings.¹²¹

Dharmarāja Yudhiṣṭhira was an ideal king. He possessed all the moral virtues, ruled righteously and performed his duties properly.¹²² But he was addicted too much to gambling. Dhṛtarāṣṭra invited him to play the game of dice with

118. Ibid., Droṇa, Chaps. LV-LXX.

119. Although Nahuṣa has been referred to as an ideal king here, at other places he has been censured for his unsympathetic behaviour towards *Brāhmaṇas*. He forced the latter to carry him on their shoulders. See *Infra*. pp. 146-7.

120. *Mbh.* Anuśāsana, CLXV, 48-61.

121. Ibid., Ādi. I, 223-30.

122. For details, See Ibid., Vana, Chap. XXXIII.

Śakuni.¹²³ Yudhiṣṭhira accepted the invitation.¹²⁴ Śakuni won all the throws of the game with the result that Yudhiṣṭhira lost all of his belongings and even his four brothers and wife Draupadī,¹²⁵ who was insulted by the winners. While describing the evil consequences of gambling, Kāman-daka gives the example of Yudhiṣṭhira.¹²⁶

Another example of extreme indulgence in gambling is that of Nala, the king of Niṣadha.¹²⁷ He completely neglected

-
123. Dhṛtarāṣṭra invited Yudhiṣṭhira, although he himself was not in favour of this game, which he condemned. (Ibid., CCXXXV, 21-2). But as he himself committed, he invited Yudhiṣṭhira for that purpose because of his affection towards Duryodhana (Ibid., CCXXXVI, 24). Vidura, Jayadratha, Bhīṣma, Śalya, Bhūriśravā, Purumitra, Jaya, Aśvatthāmā, Kṛpā and Droṇācharya also did not like this plan of the game of dice (Ibid., Drona. LXXXV, 27-8).
124. According to Arjuna, Yudhiṣṭhira accepted the invitation, keeping in view the duties of the *Kṣatriyas*. This, in his opinion, was capable of increasing fame (Ibid., Sabhā, LXVIII, 9. See also Ibid., LIX, 10, 13). This is rather strange, because gambling has not been mentioned in the list of duties, prescribed for the *Kṣatriyas*. Moreover, it is a vice and not a virtue. How can it be taken to be capable of increasing one's fame? Over and above, Yudhiṣṭhira himself admitted that he could not resist himself from playing the game. (Ibid., Vana, XXXIV, 4-5). Balarāma, however, blamed Yudhiṣṭhira for this and made him responsible for his defeat at the hands of Śakuni (Ibid., Udyoga, Chap. II).
125. This is comparable with the news, published in the *Northern India Patrika* (Allahabad), Dated 3rd Nov. 1959, p. 8. that "Some natives in New Guinea were so obsessed with gambling that they gambled away their wives". In the case of Nala, the winner Puṣkara suggested that the former should gamble away his wife Damayantī, since Nala had lost all of his possessions.
126. XIV, 49.
127. According to the Mahābhārata, Nala's addiction to gambling was the result of the mischief done by Kali and Dvāpara. Knowing that Nala won the heart of Damayantī, whom Kali also wanted

the affairs of the state and was absolutely lost in the game of dice against his cousin brother, Puṣkara, although he was repeatedly advised by his wife, Damayantī, ministers and subjects to give up the game. Puṣkara won all the throws. Consequently, Nala was deprived of his kingdom and had to go to forest.¹²⁸ King Ṛtuparṇa was an expert in gambling.¹²⁹ Nala learned the secrets of the game from him and challenged Puṣkara to play the game again. This time Nala was the winner and therefore, he regained his lost kingdom.¹³⁰ Nala's defeat in gambling has been referred to by Kāmandaka in a list of kings, who were ruined because of this game. It contains the names of Rukmī and Dantavakra also.¹³¹

King Veṇa ruled arbitrarily. He was a tyrant and troubled his subjects. Neglecting *Dharma*, Veṇa was motivated by the vices like *rāga* (attachment) and *dveṣa* (prejudice). For these reasons, he was killed by sages.¹³² According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, he thought too much of himself and prohibited the performance of sacrifices. This annoyed the sages.¹³³

King Nahuṣa also did not follow the injunctions, laid down for kings. Although a righteous person in the beginning, he became absolutely corrupt after his appointment as the king of gods. He became too much interested in music and indulged in affairs with other women. Most of his time was spent in the company of *apsarās*. He became passionate to such an extent that he ordered Śacī, the wife

to marry, the latter devised this scheme of taking revenge.
Mbb. Vana, Chaps. LVIII-LIX.

128. For details, Vide. *Ibid.*, Chaps. LIX-LXI.

129. *Ibid.*, LXVI, 20; LXXII, 29.

130. *Ibid.*, Chap. LXXVIII.

131. XIV, 50-52.

132. *Mbb. Śānti*, LIX, 94.

133. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 13.

of Indra, to come to him and to accept him as her husband. He was repeatedly advised by sages to withdraw this order, but he would not listen to them. Śacī, however, was extremely frightened and she sought the shelter of Br̥haspati in order to escape her insult by Nahuṣa. Under the guidance of Br̥haspati, she told Nahuṣa that she would become his wife, provided he rode the palanquin, borne by sages and *Brāhmaṇas*. A slave of his senses, the king agreed to do so. He ordered the noble and self-restrained sages to carry him. The sages agreed to do so and got completely exhausted. On the objection, raised by them, Nahuṣa kicked Agastya *Muni*, who inflicted a curse on him to the effect that he would fall from heaven and be a snake on the earth. That is what actually happened.¹³⁴

In this connection mention may be made of king Vṛṣadarbha who had secretly taken the vow of giving only silver and gold (*kuṇḍya*) in donation and of never giving horses as gift. It so happened that a *Brāhmaṇa*, after finishing his studies, was in need of one thousand horses to be given to his preceptor as the preceptor's fee (*guru-dakṣiṇā*). Being directed by another king, Seduka, the *Brāhmaṇa* went to Vṛṣadarbha to get his need complied with. The *Brāhmaṇa* was absolutely ignorant of the vow of king Vṛṣadarbha. As soon as he asked for the horses, Vṛṣadarbha began to beat him with a hunter. The *Brāhmaṇa* told Vṛṣadarbha that he came to him after being directed by king Seduka. At this, Vṛṣadarbha gave him wealth, worth one thousand horses.¹³⁵ King Kalmāṣapāda also is said to have beaten the eldest son of Vaśiṣṭha, a sage, with his whip.¹³⁶ This shows their unsympathetic behaviour towards a *Brāhmaṇa*.

134. *Mbh.* Udyoga, Chaps. XI-XVII.

135. *Ibid.*, Vana, Chap. CXCVI.

136. *Ibid.*, Ādi, Chap. CLXXV.

King and Dharma.

According to the Mahābhārata, Dharma depends on a king.¹³⁷ It lays down the establishment of *Dharma* as the foremost duty of a king¹³⁸ and says that a king himself should be *dhārmika* (righteous). If the king is righteous, the people also would be so, because as is the king, so are the people (*yathā rājā tathā prajā*)¹³⁹. The Mahābhārata wants him to rule in accordance with *dharma*.¹⁴⁰ By following *dharma* a king attains heaven and by following *adharma* he goes to hell.¹⁴¹ In the Udyoga Parva, Vidura says to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, "The earth, full of wealth and swelling with prosperity, enhanceth the prosperity of that king, who practiseth righteousness, which is practised by the good from the remotest days. Virtuously should a kingdom be acquired and virtuously should it be governed, for the prosperity

137. राज्येऽसति कुतो धर्मो । Ibid., Śānti, CCCXX, 161.

राजन्येवास्य धर्मस्य योगक्षेमः प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ Ibid., LXXII, 22.

धर्मो राजनि तिष्ठति । Ibid., XC, 5.

न संकीर्यते धर्मोऽयं पृथिव्यां पृथिवीपते ।

त्वया हि धर्मो विधृतः कृत्स्नं धारयते जगत् ॥ Ibid., Ādi, LXIII, 5.

Cf. धर्मप्रवर्तकोऽधर्मनाशकस्तमसो रविः । *Sūkra*, I, 73.

138. लोके धर्मं पालय । *Mbh.* Ādi, XXX, 6.

प्रमवार्थं हि भूतानां धर्मः सृष्टः स्वयम्भुवा ।

तस्मात् प्रवर्तयेद्धर्मं प्रजानुग्रहकारणात् ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XC, 18.

139. See Supra f. n. 34 of this chapter.

140. धर्मेण राजा धर्मज्ञः पातु सर्वा वसुन्धराम् । Ibid., Āśvamedhika, XV, 30.

प्रणाधि पृथिवीं राजन् प्रजा धर्मेण पालयन् । Ibid., Śānti, CXL, 30.

See also *ibid.*, CXX, 15; *Vana*, XXXIII, 19.

141. राजा चरति चेद् धर्मं देवत्वायैव कल्पते ।

स चेद्धर्मं चरति नरकायैव गच्छति ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, CXXXII, 13

The same verse occurs in *ibid.*, Śānti, XC, 4.

that hath virtue for its foundation, being won is never lost, nor hath its possessors ever to forsake it.”¹⁴²

Answering the enquiry, put forth by Yudhiṣṭhira, Lomaśa said that one, who prospers through unrighteous means and who defeats his enemies unfairly, perishes,¹⁴³ whereas he who sticks to *dharma*, destroys his enemies and his kingdom flourishes.¹⁴⁴ He enjoys eternal happiness¹⁴⁵ and goes to holy regions (*Puṇyān lokān*) after death.¹⁴⁶ According to Kṛṣṇa, he wins in this world as well as in the next. *Dharma* is more important than a kingdom even.¹⁴⁷ A king, who followed *dharma*, ruled for a long time.¹⁴⁸ That is why Yudhiṣṭhira told Saubhadra never to indulge in *adharma*.¹⁴⁹ When Kaṇva told her to ask for a boon, Śakuntalā also, thinking of the benefit of Duṣyanta, wished that the kings of Puru dynasty be followers of *Dharma*.¹⁵⁰ Laying stress on *Dharma*, Yayāti said to Pratardana, “O monarch, no king, who is afflicted with calamity through the fate should, if wise, act in a censurable way. A king keeping his eye fixed for ever on virtue should walk along the path of virtue and increase his fame.”¹⁵¹ It is said in the Anuśāsana Parva that “a king well-conversant with the science

142. Ibid., Udyoga, XXXIV, 28-9 & 31. P. C. Ray's rendering adopted.

See also ibid., CXX, 25.

143. Ibid., Vana, XCIV, 2-4.

144. Ibid., XCIV, p. 1226 (Southern Recension, G. P. Edition).

145. Ibid., Śānti, CCCXXI, 28.

146. धर्मयुक्तस्ततो लोकान् पुण्यान् प्राप्स्यसि शाश्वतान् ॥ Ibid., Ādi, XXX, 6.

147. Ibid., Vana, CLXXXIII, 16.

148. धृतिमान् देशकालज्ञः सर्वधर्मविधानवित् ।

क्षत्रियः क्षत्रियश्रेष्ठ प्रशास्ति पृथिवीं चिरम् ॥ Ibid., CLXII, 3.

149. मा चाधर्मो मनः कृथाः ॥ Ibid., Mahāprasthānika, I, 9.

150. Ibid., Ādi, LXXIII, 34.

151. Ibid., XCII, 17-8.

of duty and morality is the first requisite of the kingdom's prosperity. Those people, whose king is unrighteous and atheistic in conduct and belief, can never be happy. Such people can never wake or sleep in peace. In consequence of his acts of wickedness, his subjects remain always filled with anxiety. Protection of what the subjects already have and new acquisitions according to lawful means are incidents that are not noticeable in the kingdom of such a ruler. Those people, again, who have a wise and righteous king sleep happily and wake up in happiness. Through the blessed and righteous acts of such a king, his subjects become freed from anxiety. The subjects, restrained from wicked acts, grow in prosperity through their own conduct. Capable of retaining what they have, they go on making new acquisitions."¹⁵²

In this connection, Utathya's discourse to Māndhātā, is noteworthy. According to the former, one becomes a king not for satisfying his desires but for the upkeep of *dharma*.¹⁵³ A king, who acts in the interest of *dharma*, is known as, (identified with) *dharma*.¹⁵⁴ "He is called *Rājan*, in whom righteousness dominates (lit. shines)."¹⁵⁵

152. राजा हि धर्मकुशलः प्रथमं भूतिलक्षणम् ॥

अथ येषामधर्मज्ञो राजा भवति नास्तिकः ।

न ते सुखं प्रवृध्यन्ति न सुखं प्रस्वपन्ति च ॥

सदा भवन्ति चोद्विग्नाः तस्य दुश्चरितैः नराः ।

योगक्षेमा हि बहवो राष्ट्रं नास्यविशन्ति तत् ॥

अथ येषां पुनः प्राज्ञो राजा भवति धार्मिकः ।

सुखं ते प्रतिवृध्यन्ते सुसुखं प्रस्वपन्ति च ॥

तस्य राज्ञः शुभैः राज्यैः कर्मभिः निर्वृताः नराः ।

योगक्षेमेण वृष्ट्या च विवर्धन्ते स्वकर्मभिः ॥ Ibid., Anuśāsana, LXII, 40-44.

153. धर्माय राजा भवति न कामकरणाय तु । Ibid., Śānti, XC, 3.

154. Ibid., XC, 6.

155. यस्मिन् धर्मो विराजते तं राजानं प्रचक्षते । Ibid., XC, 14.

Leaving aside *kāma* and *krodha*, a king should pay attention to *dharma*, which is the best thing that leads to his prosperity.¹⁵⁶ He should pay regard to *Brāhmaṇas* because they are the source of *dharma*.¹⁵⁷ By disregarding them, a monarch has to suffer like king Bali, who had to face great difficulties as a result of his unsympathetic behaviour towards *Brāhmaṇas*.¹⁵⁸ The state of affairs of the kingdom, ruled by a king, inattentive towards *dharma* is deplorable. "Confusion of castes (*varṇa-saṁkara*) follows, and sinful *Rākṣasas*, and persons of neutral sex, and children destitute of limbs or possessed of thick tongues, and idiots, begin to take birth in even respectable families..... Unrighteousness increases. Cold sets in the summer months, and disappears when its proper season comes. Drought and flood and pestilence afflict the people. Ominous stars arise and awful comets appear on such occasions. Diverse other portents, indicating destruction of the kingdom, make their appearance. Two persons combining together, snatch the wealth of one, and many acting in concord, rob the two. The virginity of maidens is deflowered. Such a state of things is said to arise from king's fault. All the rights of property come to an end among men, when the king abandoning righteousness acts heedlessly."¹⁵⁹ This makes it clear that social, moral, political and economic well-being of the people depends exclusively on the observance of *dharma* by the king. That is why a king has been strongly advised by the *Mahābhārata* to take due care of the maintenance of *dharma* for his as well as his

156. कामक्रोधावनादृत्य धर्ममेवानुपालय ।

धर्मः श्रेयस्करतमो राज्ञां भरतसत्तम ॥ Ibid., XC, 20.

157. धर्मस्य ब्राह्मणो योनिस्तस्मात्तान्भूजयेत्सदा । Ibid., XC, 21.

158. Ibid., XC, 23.

159. Ibid., XC, 33-7. 39, 40. Translation by P. C. Ray.

people's welfare.¹⁶⁰ The prosperity, which results from the timely rain and the righteous conduct of the king, is very well enjoyed by the people.¹⁶¹ That king, who is unable to refrain his people from the defects of behaviour (*śīla-doṣa*) is as useless as the washerman, who does not wash clothes properly and does not remove stains therefrom.¹⁶² Moreover, in the kingdom of such a ruler the four *Vedas*, the four *Varṇas* and the four *Āśramas* also become confused.¹⁶³ Wives, sons, relations and friends of such a king become miserable. Even animals, like elephants, horses, cows, camels, mules and donkies have to suffer.¹⁶⁴ The king, who followed *Dharma* was called a creator and he, who neglected it, was deemed to be a destructor.¹⁶⁵

Equally important, in this connection, is the dialogue between Vāmadeva and king Vasuhoma. Answering to the difficulty, put forth by the latter, the former said that a

160. प्रजाश्च तस्य क्षीयन्ते ततः सोऽनुविनश्यति । Ibid., XC, 38.

161. कालवर्षी च पर्जन्यो धर्मचारी च पार्थिवः ।
सम्पद् यदेषा भवति सा विभक्तिं सुखं प्रजाः ॥ Ibid., XCI, 1.

162. यो न जानाति हर्तुं वा वस्त्राणां रजको मलम् ।
रक्तानां वा शोधयितुं यथा नास्ति तथैव सः ॥
तेषां यः क्षत्रियो वेद वस्त्राणामिव शोधनम् ।
शीलदोषान् विनिहर्तुं स पिता स प्रजापतिः । Ibid., XCI, 2, 5.

163. चातुर्वर्ण्यं तथा वेदाश्चातुराश्रम्य एव च ।
सर्वं प्रमुह्यते ह्येतद् यदा राजा प्रमाद्यति ॥ Ibid., XCI, 7.

164. राज्ञो भार्याश्च पुत्राश्च बान्धवाः सुहृदस्तथा ।
समेत्य सर्वे शोचन्ति यदा राजा प्रमाद्यति ॥
हस्तिनोऽश्वाश्च गावश्चाप्युष्ट्राश्वतरगर्दभाः ।
अधर्मभूते नृपतौ सर्वे सीदन्ति जन्तवः ॥ Ibid., XCI, 10-11.

165. राजैव कर्ता भूतानां राजैव च विनाशकः ।
धर्मात्मा यः स कर्ता स्यादधर्मात्मा विनाशकः ॥ Ibid., XCI, 9.

king should stick to *dharma*, because there is nothing higher than *dharma*. Observance of *dharma* helps in conquering the whole earth. He should never be satisfied with the realisation of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* (i.e. he should make all attempts to increase *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*) and should attach more importance to *dharma*, than to *artha*.¹⁶⁶ Like rivers that go to the sea, prosperity is attained by a king, who has good qualities, who does not censure others and who is self restrained and wise. Such a king makes great achievements.¹⁶⁷

Kauṭilya also lays emphasis on the observance of *dharma* by a king because that king, who protects his people in accordance with *Dharma*, goes to heaven.¹⁶⁸

According to Kāmandaka, a *dhārmika* king is respected by his subjects. *Dharma* helps in the prosperity of a state. Hence, a king should attach due importance to *dharma*.¹⁶⁹

In the opinion of Śukra, people perish along with their ruler, if the latter violates *dharma*,¹⁷⁰ whereas that king earns glory for a long time in whose kingdom people follow *Svadharma* and who himself sticks to *dharma* and *nīti*.¹⁷¹ A king, without *dharma* and *nīti*, is actually weak (even if he be powerful) because a *dhārmika* king can punish him as if he were a thief.¹⁷² By protecting *dharma*, even a worthless (*nīca*) king becomes the best (*śreṣṭha*) one and by neglecting it even a good (*uttama*) king turns to be a worthless (*nīca*)

166. Ibid., XCII, 6-8, 12.

167. अथाददानः कल्याणमनसूयुजितेन्द्रियः ।

वर्धते मतिमान् राजा स्रोतोभिरिव सागरः ॥ Ibid., XCII, 11

168. राज्ञः स्वधर्मः स्वर्गाय प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षितुः । *Arthāśāstra* (Ed. R. Shamasastri, 1919), III, p. 150.

169. *Kāmandaka*, I, 11, 15.

170. *Śukra*, IV, 110.

171. स्वस्वधर्मपरो लोको यस्य राष्ट्रे प्रवर्तते ।

धर्मनीतिपरो राजा चिरं कीर्तिं चाप्नुते ॥ Ibid., IV, 246.

172. धर्मनीतिविहीनाथ दुर्बला अपि वै नृपाः ॥
सुधर्मबलयुगराज्ञा दण्ड्यास्ते चौरवत्सदा । Ibid., IV, 1238-9.

one.¹⁷³ Hence, Śukra advises a king to follow *Svadharmā*, without opposing *Jāti Dharma*, *Jānapada Dharma*, *Śreṇī Dharma*, *Kula Dharma* and *Deśa Dharma*, otherwise people get annoyed with him.¹⁷⁴ The king, who himself follows *dharma* and establishes *dharma* in his people without giving rise to conflict with the above-mentioned *dharma*s, attains prosperity and glory.¹⁷⁵

Duties of a King—Monarchy being the normal and popular form of government in ancient India, special attention was paid to it. The Mahābhārata gives elaborate instructions to a king about the duties which he should perform in order to strengthen his hold on the people, lead them to prosperity, earn name and fame here and enjoy in the regions of gods hereafter. These duties were coupled with the powers of a king. Their violation and negligence made the people miserable and associated the ruler with sin. The duties of a king, as laid down in the Mahābhārata, are as follows :

Prajā-pālana—The word *pālana* has a comprehensive import. It is inclusive of the idea of *bharaṇa*, *pālana* and *rakṣaṇa* (maintenance, nourishment and protection). It was the foremost duty of a king to protect and maintain his people and to see that all sorts of their requirements were fulfilled and that they were on the path of prosperity.¹⁷⁶ Hence, the Mahābhārata repeatedly asks a king to observe this duty.¹⁷⁷ Similar emphasis on *Prajā-pālana* by kings has

173. Ibid., IV, 1239-40.

174. Ibid., IV, 568-70.

175. Ibid., IV, 249-50. Cf. Ibid, I, 26.

176. *Mbh.* Anuśāsana, LXI, 29-31.

177. प्रजानां पालनं धर्मो राज्ञां राजीवलोचन । Ibid., Śānti, XXXII, 2.

प्रजा धर्मेण पालयेत् । Ibid., XCIII, 22.

कर्तव्यं पालनं च प्रजानाम् । Ibid., CCXI, 22.

See also *ibid.*, Udyoga, XXXIV, 30; Śānti, LXIII, 17; LXV, 2; LXXI, 25; LXXV, 2-3, 25; CXXXIX, 102; Anuśāsana, CIV, 147.

been laid down by Manu¹⁷⁸ and Śukra¹⁷⁹ also. By doing it, a king could earn merit and glory¹⁸⁰, make enjoyments and go to heaven and the desired regions.¹⁸¹ By observing this duty he could earn the merit equal to that, earned by the performance of one thousand horse-sacrifices (*aśvamedha yajñas*).¹⁸²

Prajā-rañjana—It was the duty of a monarch to please his subjects and keep them contented.¹⁸³ Their educational, academic and cultural development was also included in *prajā-rañjana*. A king was called '*rājā*' because he pleased the people.¹⁸⁴ The same view occurs in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa¹⁸⁵ and the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa.¹⁸⁶

Prajā-rakṣaṇa—Protection of the people from chaos, external invasions and internal dangers was deemed to be another important duty of kings by the ancient Indian thinkers,

178. क्षत्रियस्य परमो धर्मः प्रजानामेव पालनम् । *Manu*, VII, 144.

179. नृपस्य परमो धर्मः प्रजानां परिपालनम् । *Śukra*, I, 14.

प्रजानां पालनं कुर्यात् नीतिपूर्वं नृपेण हि । *Ibid.*, I, 313.

180. धर्मं पुरुषशार्दूल प्राप्स्यते पालने रतः । *Mbh.* Śānti, LXVI, 39. See also *Ibid.*, LXXI, 24; *Śukra*. I. 96.

181. पालयित्वा तथा पौरान् परत्र सुखमेधते । *Mbh.* Śānti. LXIX, 72.

प्रजानां पालने युक्ता दानमुत्तममास्थिताः ।

इष्टांल्लोकानवाप्स्यामो गुरुवृद्धोपचायिनः ॥ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 39.

प्रजापालनदक्षस्य स्वर्गलोको भविष्यति । *Ibid.*, Anuśāsana, CXLVIII, 49.

प्रेत्य स्वर्गमवाप्नोति प्रजा धर्मेण पालयन् । *Ibid.*, Āśramavāsika, VII, 19.

182. अश्वमेधसहस्रेण यो यजेत् पृथिवीपतिः ।

पालयेद् वापि धर्मेण प्रजास्तुल्यं फलं लभेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, VII, 22.

183. रंजस्व प्रजा सर्वाः प्रकृतिः परिसान्त्वय ॥ *Ibid.*, Anuśāsana, CLXVI, 12.

184. रंजिताश्च प्रजाः सर्वास्तेन राजेति शब्दयते । *Ibid.*, Śānti, LIX, 125.

185. पित्रापरञ्जितास्तस्य प्रजातेनानुरंजिताः ।

अनुरागात्ततस्तस्य नाम राजेत्यजायत ॥ II, 13, 48.

186. तथैव सोऽमूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरंजनात् । IV, 12.

राजा प्रजारंजनलब्धवर्णः । *Ibid.*, VI, 21.

as early as the R̥gveda.¹⁸⁷ The Mbh. refers to this duty at many places.¹⁸⁸ They realized that no achievements could be made until and unless there was an assurance of security and defence. That is why the Mahābhārata describes 'rakṣā' as 'lokasya dhārinī'¹⁸⁹ i.e. that, which is capable of holding or sustaining the world. According to Bhīṣma that king was the best in whose kingdom, people lived as fearlessly as sons, living in the homes of their father.¹⁹⁰

A king, who observed this duty was respected.¹⁹¹ He earned great merit even if he fell into a danger while protecting his subjects,¹⁹² and he shared one fourth of their merits.¹⁹³

187. गोपा जनस्य । RV. III, 43, 5.

188. रक्षामेव प्रशंसन्ति धर्मं धर्मभृतां वर । Mbh. Śānti, LVIII, 4.

एष एव परो धर्मो यद्राजा रक्षति प्रजाः ।

भूतानां हि यदा धर्मो रक्षणं परमा दया ॥

तस्मादेवं परं धर्मं मन्यन्ते धर्मकोविदाः ।

यो राजा रक्षणे युक्तो भूतेषु कुरुते दयाम् ॥ Ibid., LXXI, 26-7.

संरक्ष्यान्पालयेद्राजा स राजा राजसत्तमः । Ibid., LXXXIX, 10.

रक्षणं सर्वभूतानामिति क्षात्रं परं मतम् । Ibid., CXX, 3.

Cf. षड्भागभृतो राजा रक्षेत्राजाम् । *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, (Ed. L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1907), I, 10, 1. See also, Mbh. Śānti, XV, 53; LVII, 42; LXXXIX, 9.

189. रक्षा लोकस्य धारिणी । Ibid., LVII, 42.

190. पुत्रा इव पितुर्गोहे विषये यस्य मानवाः ।

निर्भया विचरिष्यन्ति स राजा राजसत्तम ॥ Ibid., LVII, 33.

191. तस्माद् यो रक्षति नृपः स धर्मेणेति पूज्यते । Ibid., CCXIII, 14.

See also ibid., Anuśāsana, CXLI, 47-8.

192. यद्यप्यस्य विपत्तिः स्याद् रक्षमाणस्य वै प्रजाः ।

सोऽप्यस्य विपुलो धर्म एव वृत्ता हि भूमिपाः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LVIII, 23.

193. यं हि धर्मं चरन्तीह प्रजा राजा सुरक्षिता ।

चतुर्थं तस्य धर्मस्य राजा विन्देत भारत ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, CXXXII, 12.

See also ibid., Śānti, LXVI, 32; LXXII, 19-20; LXXV, 6-7;

Manu, VI, 304.

But he, who did not do so and took taxes, shared one fourth of the sins, committed by his people¹⁹⁴ and was called a tyrant.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, "the sin, that a king incurs by neglecting for a single day the protection of his subjects from fear is so much that he does not reach the end of his sufferings (for it) in hell till after a thousand years. The merit that a king earns by protecting his subjects righteously for a single day is such that he enjoys its reward in heaven for ten thousand years."¹⁹⁶ One, who does not observe this duty, can have neither kingdom nor happiness.¹⁹⁷

According to Bhīṣma, by doing this duty a king earns the merit, acquired by observing the *āśrama dharma* (duties, prescribed for the different stations of life).¹⁹⁸ He says to Yudhiṣṭhira, "Do thou, O son of Kuntī, observe with great care this duty (of protection). Thou shalt then obtain the reward of righteousness and no grief and pain will be thine. Thou shalt, O son of Pāṇḍu, obtain great prosperity in

194. आदाय बलिषड्भागं यो राष्ट्रं नाभिरक्षति ।

प्रतिगृह्णाति तत्पापं चतुर्थांशेन भूमिपः ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, XXIV, 12.
See also *Ibid.*, Ādi, CCXIII, 19; Śānti, LXVI, 8; LXXXVII, 18-20; Anuśāsana, LXI, 34.

195. अरक्षिता दुर्विनीतो मानी स्तब्धोऽभ्यसूचकः ।

एनसा युज्यते राजा दुर्दान्त इति चोच्यते ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti, XXIV, 19.
बलिषड्भागमदधृत्य बलिं समुपयोजयेत् ।
न रक्षति प्रजाः सम्यग् यः स पार्थिवतस्करः ॥ *Ibid.*, CXXXVIII, 100.
Cf. *Sūkra*, 1, 120.

196. यदह्ना कुरुते पापमरक्षन्भयतः प्रजाः ।

राजा वर्षसहस्रेण तस्यान्तमधिगच्छति ॥

यदह्ना कुरुते धर्मं प्रजा धर्मेण पालयन् ।

दशवर्षसहस्राणि तस्य भुङ्क्ते फलं दिवि ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXI, 27-8.

197. राष्ट्रस्यारक्ष्यमाणस्य कुतो भूमिः कुतः सुखम् । *Ibid.*, Vana, CLVII, 19.

198. *Ibid.*, Śānti, LXXI, 29-30.

heaven.”¹⁹⁹ Śukra goes to the extent of saying that by doing this duty, he earns the merits of a sacrifice and attains salvation too.²⁰⁰ Manu also lays emphasis on this duty. Says he, “The king, who without protecting his subjects realises from them a sixth part of the produce of their fields, revenue, duties, royalties and fines, goes to hell after death. The wise have called such a king, who realises a sixth part of the agricultural products of his subjects without giving them the safety of life and property, the filth taker of all.”²⁰¹

The view of Kauṭilya is to the same effect. In his words, “as the duty of a king consists in protecting his subjects with justice, its observance leads him to heaven. He, who does not protect his people or upsets the social order, wields his royal sceptre (*daṇḍa*) in vain.”²⁰² According to Śukra, a king should think himself to be a servant so far as the duty of protecting the people is concerned.²⁰³

Nigrahānugraha (*Punishing the wicked persons and helping the good ones*): With a view to giving protection to the people, a king should punish the wicked persons and help the good

199. एवं धर्मं प्रयत्नेन कौन्तेय परिपालय ।

ततः पुण्यफलं लब्ध्वा नाधिवन्धेन योक्ष्यसे ॥ *Ibid.*, LXXI, 31.

200. *Śukra*, I, 30-31.

201. योऽरक्षन्बलिमादत्ते करं शुल्कं च पार्थिवः ।

प्रतिभागं च दण्डं च स सद्यो नरकं व्रजेत् ॥

अरक्षितारं राजानं बलिषड्भागहारिणम् ।

तमाहुः सर्वलोकस्य समग्रमलहारकम् ॥ *Manu*, VIII, 307-8. M. N. Datta's rendering adopted.

202. राज्ञः स्वधर्मः स्वर्गाय प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षितुः ।

अरक्षितुर्वा क्षेप्तुर्वा मिथ्यादण्डमतोऽन्यथा ॥ *Arthaśāstra* (Ed. Shamasastri, 1919) Chap. 3, p. 150; *Ibid.*, R. Shamasastri's rendering adopted.

203. दासवत् स्यात्तु रक्षणे । *Śukra*, IV, 241.

ones. The Mahābhārata refers to this duty at many places.²⁰⁴ Its observance earns merit for the king.²⁰⁵ If the king does not do this duty, all good subjects live in fear like the inmates of a room wherein a snake has concealed itself.²⁰⁶ It is as good as a sacrifice, ordained for the *Kṣatriyas*.²⁰⁷

Side by side with the above duty, it was expected of a king to respect those, who deserved it. He was to honour brave men, wise men, wealthy men,²⁰⁸ righteous men²⁰⁹ ascetics (*tapasvī*), *brāhmaṇas*,²¹⁰ *ācārya* (preceptor), *ṛtvij* (one, who performs sacrifices), *purohita* (priests), efficient architects astrologers and astronomers, physicians, those who have self-restraint, those, skilled in doing all sorts of works, those, born in high families and those, who are possessed of courage.²¹¹

204. असतां प्रतिषेधश्च सतां च परिपालनम् ।

एष राज्ञां परो धर्मः ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, XIV, 16.

सतो रक्षासतो जहि । *Ibid.*, LXXV, 35. See also *ibid.*, Vana, CCVII, 26-39; Śānti, LXXVIII, 44; XCVI, 18; XCVII, 3; CXX, 47-9; CXXIII, 17-20; CXLII, 27; CLXXXI, 5.

205. *Ibid.*, Anuśāsana, CXLV, p. 5976 (Southern Recension, G. P. Ed.)

206. दुराचरान् यदा राजा प्रदुष्टान् न नियच्छति ।

तस्मादुद्विजते लोकः सर्पाद् वेश्मगतादिव ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti, CXXIII, 17.
See also verse 22 and *ibid.*, LXXXVI, 11.

207. *Ibid.*, CCXXXVIII, 12. For the interpretation of *Ālambayajña*, vide *Mbh.* Śānti. (G. P. Ed.) p. 5052, f. n.

208. शूराश्चार्याश्च सत्कार्या विद्वांसश्च युधिष्ठिर ।

गोमतो धनिनश्चैव परिपाल्या विशेषतः ॥ *Ibid.*, XXV, 16.

209. पूजयेद् धार्मिकान् राजा निगृह्णीयादधार्मिकान् । *Ibid.*, LXXXVI, 18.

210. *Ibid.*, LXXXVI, 25-32; CXXXVIII, 217-20.

211. *Ibid.*, LXXXVI, 16-7. See also *Ibid.*, CLVIII, 32; *Ibid.*, XCIII, 34.
Cf. *Nītiśataka*, 15; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 215, 54, 57.

It is said in the Mahābhārata that by doing this duty, a king earns merit in this *loka* as well as in the next.²¹² According to Manu, "by repressing the wrong doers and encouraging the virtuous, kings are constantly purified just like *Brāhmaṇas*, purified by the performance of religious sacrifices."²¹³ Such a king acquires the merit of a sacrifice, performed daily with a *Dakṣiṇā* of a hundred thousand cows."²¹⁴ In the opinion of Śukra, a king does not incur sin by killing the wicked persons like the sages who do not become guilty of murder by killing for the purpose of a sacrifice.²¹⁵

It was the duty of a king to discourage thieves by punishing them. A king was blamed and condemned if there were thieves in his kingdom.²¹⁶ A hint to this duty is to be

212. निग्रहानुग्रहौ चौभौ यत्र स्यातां प्रतिष्ठितौ ।
अस्मिन् लोके परे चैव राजा स प्राप्नुते फलम् ॥ *Mbb.* Śānti, XLI, 41.
See also *ibid.*, LXVI, 23.
213. निग्रहेण हि पापानां साधूनां संग्रहेण च ।
द्विजातय इवेज्याभिः पूज्यन्ते सततं नृपाः ॥ *Manu*, VIII, 311 and
ibid., VII, 143.
214. *Ibid.*, VIII, 306.
215. अहिसेवासाधुहिंसा पशुवत् श्रुति चोदनात् ।
दंड्यस्यादंडनान्नित्यमदंड्यस्य च दंडनात् ॥
अतिदंडाच्च गुणिभिस्त्यजते पातकी भवेत् ।
अल्पदानान्महत्पुण्यं दंडं प्रणयनात्फलम् ॥ *Śukra.* IV, 49-50. See
also *ibid.*, I, 123-4.
216. यस्य स्म विषये राज्ञः स्तेनो भवति वै द्विजः ।
राज्ञ एवापराधं तं मन्यन्ते किल्बिषं नृप ॥ *Mbb.* Śānti, LXXVII, 4.
See also *ibid.*, XCI, 25-9.
यस्य दस्युगणा राष्ट्रे ध्वांक्षा मत्स्यान् जलादिव ।
विद्वन्ति परस्वानि स वै क्षत्रियपांसनः ॥ *Ibid.*, CXLII, 29. See also
Ibid., CXIX, 31.

found in the Chāndogyopaniṣad also.²¹⁷ Manu regards that king as a dead person, in whose kingdom, people are harassed by *dasyus*²¹⁸ (dacoits) and that king, in whose kingdom there is no thief, goes to *Indraloka*.²¹⁹

Establishment of Varṇāśrama Dharma : According to the Mahābhārata, it is only in the presence of the king (due to his coercive power) that people follow *Svadharmā*, i.e. the duties, specifically prescribed for the different *Varṇas* and *Āśramas*.²²⁰ Similar is the view of Kauṭilya.²²¹ The Mahābhārata, the Manu Smṛti,²²² the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya²²³ and the Śukra Nitisāra²²⁴ unanimously lay down the establishment of *Varṇāśrama Dharma* as an important duty of a monarch. The Mahābhārata advises him to have a thorough knowledge of *Varṇāśrama Dharma*.²²⁵ This earns merit for him.²²⁶ It was believed that a king follows the *Āśrama Dharma* by making others follow²²⁷ it.

217. Aśvapati said : न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपो नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतो । *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, 5, 11, 5.

218. विक्रोशन्तो यस्य राष्ट्राद्घ्नियन्ते दस्युभिः प्रजाः ।
सम्पश्यतः समृत्यस्य मृतः स न तु जीवति ॥ *Manu*, VII, 143.

219. *Ibid.*, VIII, 386.

220. यदा भुवि जयी राजा क्षेमं राष्ट्रेभिसंदधेत् ।
तदा वर्णा यथा धर्मं निविशेयुः कथंचन ॥ *Mbb. Śānti*, LXXVIII, 17.
For an account of the *Varṇāśrama Dharma*, Vide. *Supra*, pp. 86-96.

221. चतुर्वर्णाश्रमो लोको राजा दण्डेन पालितः ।
स्वधर्मकर्माभिरतो वर्तते स्वेषु वर्त्मसु ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, I, 4, 19.

222. VII, 35. See also *ibid.*, VIII, 410.

223. I, 3, 16; III, 1, 50.

224. IV, 342-3.

225. *Mbb. Śānti*, LXIII, 11.

226. *Ibid.*, LXVI, 43.

227. *Ibid.*, LXVI, 28.

This emphasis on *Varṇāśrama Dharma* was due to the belief that its observance leads to prosperity in this world²²⁸ and if neglected, it results in the destruction of a state.²²⁹ From the age of six to the time of his appointment as a king he should study different subjects and learn self-discipline and thus observe the duties of the *Brahmacaryāśrama*. During the period of his reign, he should perform the duties ordained for the *Gṛhasthāśrama*. He should donate liberally, make gifts to *Brāhmaṇas*, study the Vedas and the works on polity, procreate children and win victory in war. He should systematically perform the *Pitr yajñas* and thus pay back *Pitr ṛṇa*, i.e. the debt, owed to ancestors. By performing other *yajñas* and studying the Vedas, he should free himself from the debt to gods and sages which were known as *Deva ṛṇa* and *Ṛṣirṇa* respectively. Thereafter, in his old age, he should entrust the charge of his kingdom to his son and should leave for the woods,²³⁰ with or without his

228. व्यवस्थितार्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः ।
 त्रय्या हि रक्षितो लोको प्रसीदति न सोदति । *Arthaśāstra*. 1, 3 17.
229. तस्यातिक्रमे लोकः संकरादुच्छिद्येत् । *Ibid.*, I, 3, 15.
 यत्र त्वेते परिध्वंसाज्जायन्ते वर्णदूषकाः ।
 राष्ट्रिकैः सह तद्राष्ट्रं क्षिप्रमेव विनश्यति ॥ *Mann*, X, 61.
230. वेदानधीत्य धर्मेण राजशास्त्राणि चानघ ।
 संतानादीनि कर्माणि कृत्वा सोमं निषेव्य च ॥
 पालयित्वा प्रजाः सर्वा धर्मेण वदतां वर ।
 राजसूयाऽश्वमेधादीन् मखानन्यास्तथैव च ॥
 आनयित्वा यथापाठं विप्रेभ्यो दत्तदक्षिणः ।
 संग्रामे विजयं प्राप्य तथात्पं यदि वा बहु ॥
 स्थापयित्वा प्रजापालं पुत्र राज्ये च पाण्डव ।
 अन्यगोत्रं प्रशस्तं वा क्षत्रियं क्षत्रियर्षभ ॥
 अर्चयित्वा पितृन् सम्यक् पितृयज्ञैर्यथाविधि ।
 देवान् यज्ञैः ऋषीन् वेदैः अर्चयित्वा तु यत्नतः ॥

wife. Dhṛtarāṣṭra tells Yudhiṣṭhira that in the forest he should lead the life of a hermit by wearing bark, wandering in the forest, observing fasts, eating very little (literally, eating wind), performing *yajñas* and practising penance.²³¹ The leading of the forest life by kings has been called as “*Rājaraṣṇām purāṇānām gatiḥ*”, the path of the king-seers.²³² the Mahābhārata condemns the death of a *Kṣatriya* in his home.²³³ He should meet with his end either in the battle-field or in the forest.²³⁴

The Mahābhārata contains examples of the observance of *Āśrama Dharma* by kings. Janaka, a king of Mithilā, anointed his son to the throne and went to a forest.²³⁵ The same thing was done by king Yayāti.²³⁶ Dhṛtarāṣṭra led the forest-life in the company of Gāndhārī,²³⁷ his wife.

It is doubtful whether the Mahābhārata wants a king to take to the fourth *āśrama*, which is the *Sanyāsāśrama* because in this *āśrama* one has to practise complete renunciation and has to depend on alms, which is prohibited for the *Kṣatriyas*

अन्तकाले च सम्प्राप्ते य इच्छेदाश्रमान्तरम् ।

सोऽनुपूर्वश्रियान् राजन् गत्वा सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ *Mbh. Śānti*, LXIII, 16-21.

See also *ibid.*, *Āśramavāsika*, III, 38, 56; *Anuśāsana*, CLXV, 11.

231. *Mbh. Āśramavāsika*, III, 37 & 39; *Śānti*, CCXCI, 22.

232. राजर्षीणां पुराणानामनुयातु गतिं नृपः ।

राजर्षीणां हि सर्वेषामन्ते वनमुपाश्रयः ॥ *Ibid.*, *Āśramavāsika*, IV, 5.

233. न गृहे मरणं तात क्षत्रियाणां प्रशस्यते । *Ibid.*, *Śānti*, CVII, 25.
For details see *Infra*, Chap. IX Ethics of War, 267 ff.

234. एष एव परो धर्मो राजर्षीणां युधिष्ठिर ।

समरे वा भवेन्मृत्युर्वने वा विधिपूर्वकम् ॥ *Ibid.*, *Āśramavāsika*, IV, 12.

235. विदेहराज्यं च तदा प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुतस्य वै ।

यतिधर्ममुपासञ्चाप्यवसन्मियलाधिपः ॥ *Ibid.*, *Śānti*, CCCXVIII, 97.

236. *Ibid.*, *Droṇa*, LXIII, 10.

237. *Ibid.*, *Āśramavāsika*, Chap. XV.

in the Epic itself.²³⁸ Bhīmasena also holds a similar view. In his words, "if a king were to attain salvation with the help of complete renunciation, then mountains and trees would surely obtain it."²³⁹

Duties as a Judge : It was an important duty of a king to act as a judge. He should maintain justice and impartially inflict punishments²⁴⁰ upon the culprit in accordance with the gravity of their crimes.²⁴¹ Even if his mother, father, brother, wife and *Purobita* did something wrong, they should be punished.²⁴² Janaka followed this instruction and punished his sons.²⁴³ By acting as an impartial judge, a king earns merit and glory and goes to heaven,²⁴⁴ whereas he, who inflicts punishment indiscriminately, earns infamy and goes to hell.²⁴⁵ A king who gives false judgement, is

238. आहुराश्रमिनः सर्वे न भैक्ष्यं क्षत्रियश्चरेत् ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, LXXIII, 3.
239. यदि सन्यासतः सिद्धिं राजा कश्चिदवाप्नुयात् ।
पर्वताश्च द्रुमाश्चैव क्षिप्रं सिद्धिमवाप्नुयुः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, X, 24.
240. धर्मेण व्यवहारेण प्रजा पालय पाण्डव ॥ Ibid., LXXI, 25.
सुप्रणीतेन दण्डेन प्रियाप्रियसमात्मना ।
प्रजा रक्षति यः सम्यग्धर्म एव स केवल ॥ Ibid., CXXI, 11. See also
ibid., LXXXV, 15-7
241. दण्डो हि केवलं लोकं परं चेमं च रक्षति ।
राज्ञा पुत्रे च शत्रौ च यथा दोषं समं धृतः ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, III, 1, 54.
242. माता पिता च भ्राता च भार्या चैव पुरोहितः ।
नादण्डयो विद्यते राज्ञो यः स्वधर्मे हि तिष्ठति ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, CXXI, 60.
Cf. *Nilamata Purāṇa*, 833, 838-9.
243. *Mbh.* Vana, CCVII, 29.
244. व्यवहारेण शुद्धेन प्रजापालनतत्परः ।
प्राप्य धर्मं च कीर्तिं च लोकानाप्नोत्युभौ शुचिः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LXXXV, 2.
See also ibid., LXVI, 5; LXXXV, 23.
245. कामकारेण दण्डं तु यः कुर्यादविचक्षणः ।
स इहाकीर्तिसंयुक्तो मृतो नरकमृच्छति ॥ Ibid., LXXXV, 24.

arrested and made to starve at the gate of his kingdom and has to see his enemies (flourishing).²⁴⁶

Performance of Sacrifices : It was incumbent upon a king to perform sacrifices,²⁴⁷ because *yajña* is the eternal auspicious path.²⁴⁸ Its performance liberates a king from his sins.²⁴⁹ Arjuna also recognised its importance. He said to Yudhiṣṭhira, "If thou doest not perform...sacrifice, O king, then the sins of this kingdom shall be thine ! Those subjects, whose king performs a horse-sacrifice with profuse presents, become all cleansed and sanctified by beholding the ablutions at the end of the sacrifice."²⁵⁰ Moreover, a king earns fame and attains salvation by performing a sacrifice.²⁵¹ A king could take away the wealth of *Vaiśyas* and miserly persons and invest it in the completion of a sacrifice.²⁵² The Mbh.

246. Ibid., Udyoga, XXXV, 32.

247. महायज्ञैः यजस्व बहुदक्षिणैः । Ibid., Śānti, XX, 5.

दानशीलो भवेद्राजा यज्ञशीलश्च भारत ॥ Ibid., LXXV, 2.

यष्टव्यं क्रतुर्भित्त्यम् । Ibid., LXXXVI, 23. See

also Ibid., Sabhā, XII, 25; XIII, 30; Śānti, XV, 53; XVI, 28-9; XXIV, 7; LXXV, 25; Anuśāsana, CII, 41; CLXVI, 10; Āśvamedhika, XIII, 19; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 215, 57; *Śukra*, I, 123.

248. शाश्वतोऽयं भूतिपथो । Mbh. Śānti, VII, 37.

249. Ibid., Vana, XXXIII, 78.

250. तं चेन्न यजसे राजन्प्राप्तस्त्वं राज्यकिल्बिषम् ।

येषां राजाऽश्वमेधेन यजते दक्षिणावता ॥

उपेत्य तस्यावभृथे पूताः सर्वे भवन्ति ते । Ibid., Śānti, VIII, 35-6.

Translation by P. C. Ray.

251. स त्वमिष्ट्वा महायज्ञैः समृद्धैराप्तदक्षिणैः ।

कीर्तिं लोके परां प्राप्य गतिमग्र्यो गमिष्यसि ॥ Ibid., Āśvamedhika, XIII, 22.

See Ibid., Anuśāsana, CII, 41; Śānti, XXIV, 7-8; *Śukra*, I, 30-31 and 123-4; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 215, 51.

252. Mbh, Śānti, CLXV, 6-7, 9-10. The Anuśāsana Parva, LXI, 21-22 condemns that king, who takes wealth from people in the name of sacrifice, but does not invest it in that work.

presents many examples of the performance of *yajñas* by kings, e. g. Yudhiṣṭhira,²⁵³ Gaya,²⁵⁴ Mahābhīṣa,²⁵⁵ Suhotra,²⁵⁶ Sṛñjaya,²⁵⁷ Soma,²⁵⁸ and Avikṣita.²⁵⁹ Yayāti also was a performer of sacrifices.²⁶⁰

Observance of Trivarga : In the second chapter, the relation between *Dandānīti* and *Trivarga* (the three-fold end of human life) has been discussed. A king has been asked to realise the *Trivarga*, because its negligence encourages people to disobey him, makes the ruler sinful and ultimately, there is the risk even of his murder.²⁶¹ The king should behave like an ideal person, if he wants his people to be disciplined. This was said by Kāmandaka, being questioned by king Aṅgariṣṭha.²⁶²

Some other Duties : Besides the above duties, a king had to do some other duties also. He was to protect those, asking for shelter. It was believed that by its non-observance, he incurred sin. Woe and not bliss was his portion.²⁶³ In the words of king Śibi, he who does not give shelter to his enemy (not to say of others) faces great difficulties. "The very clouds do not shower rain seasonably for him and seeds do not grow for him. He hath to see his offspring die in

253. Ibid., Ādi, 1, 130.

254. Ibid., Vana, XCV, 19-20.

255. Ibid., Ādi, XCVI, 1-2.

256. Ibid., Droṇa, LVI, 10.

257. Ibid., LXIX, 10.

258. Ibid., Śalya, XLIII, 47.

259. Ibid., Āśvamedhika, IV, 22.

260. Ibid., Ādi, LXXV, 41.

261. ततः संशयमाप्नोति तथा वध्यत्वमेति च ॥ Ibid., Śānti, CXXIII, 18.

262. Ibid., Chap. CXXIII.

263. अदातारः शरण्याश्च राजाक्लिषन्नाग्निः ।

दोषाणामेव भोक्तारो न सुखानां कदाचन ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XII, 32.

childhood. The ancestors of such a person can never dwell in heaven; indeed, the very gods decline to accept the libations of clarified butter poured by him into the fire. He is struck with the thunder-bolt by gods with Indra as their head.”²⁶⁴ King Śibi actually gave away his flesh to the hawk (Indra in disguise) to protect the pigeon (Agni in disguise), that came to him for shelter.²⁶⁵

A king should do philanthropic works. He should construct water-reservoirs and protect certain trees.²⁶⁶ He should look after the welfare of orphans, widows and women and should arrange for their livelihood.²⁶⁷ The Śānti Parva informs us that Yudhiṣṭhira set up houses for the distribution of water and excavated tanks.²⁶⁸ He helped the blind and helpless persons by giving them food, clothes and shelter.²⁶⁹

According to the Mahābhārata it was the duty of a king to check certain things, which were harmful to the state (*Rāṣṭrasyaopaghātakāḥ*). Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhira, “Drinking shops, public women, actors, gamblers and keepers of gaming houses and other persons of this kind, who are sources of disorder in the state, should be checked. Residing within the realm, these afflict and injure the better classes

264. Ibid., Vana, CXCVII, 12-4.

265. Ibid., Chaps. CXXXI ff; CXCVII—CXCVIII; CXXX, 21 ff.

266. आशयाश्चोदपानाश्च प्रभूतसलिलाकराः ।

निरोद्धव्याः सदा राज्ञा क्षीरिणश्च महीरुहाः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LXXXVI, 15 ff. Cf. *Sukra*, IV, 380 ff.

267. कृपणानाथवृद्धानां विधवानां च योषिताम् ।

योगक्षेमं च वृत्तिं च नित्यमेव प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXXVI, 24

268. उद्दिश्योद्दिश्य तेषां च चक्रे राजोर्ध्वदेहिकम् ।

सभाः प्रपाश्च विविधास्तटाकानि च पाण्डव ॥ Ibid., XLII, 7.

269. सर्वास्ताः कौरवो राजा संपूज्यापालयदृणी ।

दीनान्धकृपणानां च गृहाच्छादनं भोजनैः ॥ Ibid., XLII, 11.

of the subjects.”²⁷⁰ He should check that person, who is governed by passion, who is in the habit of drinking, who takes meat and who appropriates the wife and wealth of other persons, because such persons set a bad example, which is likely to be followed by others too.²⁷¹

It was incumbent on a king to fight bravely because fighting was the easiest and the best way to heaven.²⁷²

It was a duty of a monarch to discourage beggary. In this connection Bhīṣma refers to the views of Manu, who said that a king should see that nobody, until and unless in distress, asked any thing from others,²⁷³ because “if all men were to live by asking or begging and to abstain from work, the world would doubtless, come to an end.”²⁷⁴ They could, however, beg alms in times of distress. Under such circumstances, a king also has been advised to make gifts unto them out of compassion.²⁷⁵ According to the Mahābhārata, beggary and robbery are inter-connected. Negli-

270. पातागारनिवेशाश्च वेश्याः प्रापणिकास्तथा ।
कुशीलवाः सकितवा ये चान्ये केचिदीदृशा ॥
नियम्याः सर्व एवैते ये राष्ट्रेऽस्योपघातकाः ।
एते राष्ट्रेऽभितिष्ठन्तो बाधन्ते भद्रिकाः प्रजाः ॥ Ibid., LXXXIII, 14-5.

271. स्थान्येतानि संयम्य प्रसंगो भूतिनाशनः ।
कामे प्रसक्तः पुरुषः किमकार्यं विवर्जयेत् ॥
मद्यमांसपरस्वानि दारानि च धनानि च ।
आहरेद् रागवशगस्तथा शास्त्रं प्रदर्शयेत् ॥ Ibid., LXXXVIII, 21-2.

272. See *infra*, Chap. IX, Ethics of War, pp. 267 ff.

273. न केनचिद्याचितव्यः कश्चित्किञ्चिदनापदि ।
इति व्यवस्था भूतानां पुरस्तान्मनुना कृता ॥ Ibid., LXXXVII, 16.

274. सर्वे तथाऽनुजीवैयुर्न कुर्युः कर्म चेदिह ।
सर्व एव इमे लोका न भवेयुरसंशयम् ॥ Ibid., LXXXVIII, 17.

275. आपद्येव तु याचन्ते येषां नास्ति परिग्रहः ।
दातव्यं धर्मतस्तेभ्यस्त्वनुक्रोशान्मया न तु ॥ Ibid., LXXXVIII, 22-3.

gence of one is believed to give rise to the other. Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhira, "Let there be no beggars in thy kingdom, nor robbers. It is the robbers (and not virtuous men) that give unto beggars. Such givers are not real benefactors of men. Let such men reside in thy dominion as advance the interests of others and do them good, but not such as exterminate others."²⁷⁶ That king was sure to be ruined, in whose kingdom people (other than *Brāhmaṇas*) began begging alms like *Brāhmaṇas*.²⁷⁷

Put briefly, the foremost duties of a king, according to the *Mahābhārata*, are to protect, foster and maintain his people. He should not live for himself and should aim at the welfare of the people. Being concerned with the moral well-being of the people, he should see that their fundamental needs are fulfilled. He should hold the sceptre of justice and might as a trust, to be wielded for the welfare of others. He should improve the moral tone of the people by punishing the wicked people and honouring the noble ones and should make people follow *svadharma*. The office of a king was one of high discipline and a ruler was enjoined to be the custodian of public as well as private morality.

276. मा ते राष्ट्रे याचनकाऽभून्मा चापि दस्यवः ।

एषां दातार एवैते नैते भूतस्य भावकाः ॥

ये भूतान्यनुगृह्णन्ति वर्धयन्ति च ये प्रजाः ।

ते ते राष्ट्रेषु वर्तन्तां मा भूतानामभावकाः ॥ *Ibid.*, LXXXVIII, 24-5.

277. युक्ता यदा जानपदा भिक्षन्ते ब्राह्मणा इव ।

अभीक्ष्णं भिक्षुरूपेण राजानं घ्नन्ति तादृशाः ॥ *Ibid.*, XCI, 23.

See also *ibid.*, LXXVII, 22; Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 133-4. For details about the kingly duties, vide *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXXVI, 11-33; LXXXIX, 12-3; XC, 30-37; CXV, 19; CXX, 41-53; CLXV, 40; Āśramavāsika, XXVI, 1-10; *Kāmandaka*, XIII, 41-58.

CHAPTER VI

NON-MONARCHIES AND MORALS

The existence of non-monarchical states in ancient India has been brought to light by scholars, with K. P. Jayaswal as the pioneer in the field.¹ They have come to the conclusion that along with monarchy which featured most prominently, other types of governments also were known to the ancient Indians. The information about non-monarchies varies in inverse ratio from that of monarchies. Due to the scanty information at our disposal, we have to depend mainly on the casual references to them, scattered throughout the Mahābhārata.

-
1. Jayaswal : *Hindu Polity*, pp. 25 ff; Altekar : *Prācīna Bhāratiya Śāsana Paddhati*, pp. 17—21, 68—90; Bhambhri : *Substance of Hindu Polity*, pp. 67 ff; Bhandarkar : *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 101 ff; Beni Prasad : *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*, pp. 66 ff; Beni Prasad : *State in Ancient India*, pp. 102-3; Pandey : *Janatantravāda—Rāmāyana Aura Māhābhārata Kālina*, pp. 228 ff; Pandey : *Bhīṣma kā Rājadharmā*, pp. 124 ff; Pandey, Vedic Origin of Indian Republics, *Indian History Congress*, 16th session, 1952, pp. 79-85; Kapoor : *Dharma-nirapekṣa Prācīna Bhārata kī Prajātantrātmaka Paramparāyen*, pp. 44 ff; Sharma : The Vedic Gaṇa and the Origin of Post-vedic Republics, *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIX, 1953, pp. 413—26; Basham : *The Wonder that was India*, pp. 96—8.

Types of Non-monarchies in the Mahābhārata : In the Mahābhārata the following types of non-monarchical states have been referred to:—

Arājaka Rājya : The Mahābhārata elaborately describes the *Arājaka rājya*, which according to some scholars denotes anarchy and to others, a type of non-monarchical government. Most prominent among the holders of the latter view is Jayaswal, who interprets the word as “the non-ruler state”² and calls it an “idealistic constitution”³, the ideal of which was that “law was to be taken as the ruler and there should be no man-ruler. The basis of the state was considered to be a mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens.”⁴ Jayaswal holds this opinion on the basis of the Mahābhārata⁵ and the Ācārāṅga Sutta.⁶ In support of his contention, he says that a distinct term “*Mātsya-nyāya*” is used to denote anarchy⁷ and hence; “*arājaka*” should be interpreted as a form of government. Jayaswal is followed by some other scholars.⁸ This view is open to question on the following grounds—(1) The natural and the correct meaning of the term *arājaka* is anarchy,⁹ (2) The evidence from the Māhābhārata, utilized by Jayaswal, goes against him. The description of the chaotic and deplorable

2. Jayaswal, op.cit. p. 97.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. *Mbh.* Śānti, LIX, 13-7; LXVII, 4, 17—20.

6. *Ācārāṅga Sutta.*, II, 3, 1, 10.

7. Jayaswal : op.cit., p. 97. f.n. 1.

8. Vajpai : *Hindu Rājyaśāstra*, p. 181; Kapoor : *Dharma Nirapekṣa Prācīna Bhārata kī Prajātāntrātmaka Paramparāyen*, pp. 59-63.

9. Monier Williams : *English Sanskrit Dictionary*, SV. anarchy and anarchical, p. 17; Apte : *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, SV. *arājaka*, p. 160.

condition of an *arājaka rājya*¹⁰ leaves no doubt that anarchy is the only possible and correct interpretation of the word. This conclusion is corroborated by the *Rāmāyaṇa*,¹¹ the *Ācārāṅga Sutta*,¹² the *Manu Smṛti*¹³ and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.¹⁴ That is why the *Mahābhārata* goes to the extent of saying that there is no evil greater than anarchy,¹⁵ and that one should not live in such a state.¹⁶ This is the reason why the *Ācārāṅga Sutta* advises a Kevalin not to go there,¹⁷ and (3) The distinction between the significance of “*Mātsya-nyāya*” and “*arājaka-rājya*” is untenable in the light of those *ślokas* from the *Mahābhārata* wherein both the terms are employed in the same sense. Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhira, “If there were no king on Earth for wielding the rod of chastisement, the strong would then have preyed on the weak after the manner of fishes in the water. It hath been heard by us that men, in days of old, in consequence of anarchy, met with destruction, devouring one another like stronger fishes devouring the weaker ones in the water.”¹⁸

-
10. *Mbb.* Ādi CIV, 44; *Uyoga*, XXXIX, 76; *Śānti*, LIX; LXVII, 3, 8-30; See also *Supra*, Chap. IV, pp. 106 ff. 63 and Chap. V, pp. 129 ff.
11. *Ayodhyā*, LXVII, 9-30.
12. II, 3, 1, 10.
13. VII, 3
14. अराजव्यसनाबाधः । *Arthaśāstra* (Ed. G.P. Sastry), I, 17, 55.
15. न हि पापात्परतरमस्ति किञ्चिदराजकात् । *Mbb.* *Śānti*, LXVII, 7.
16. नाराजकेषु राष्ट्रेषु वस्तव्यमिति रोचये । *Ibid.*, LXVII, 5.
17. *Ācārāṅga Sutta*, II, 3, 1, 10.
18. राजा चेन्न भवेल्लोके पृथिव्यां दण्डधारकः ।
जले मत्स्यानिवाभक्ष्यन्दुर्वलं बलवत्तराः ॥
अराजकाः प्रजा पूर्वं विनेशुरिति नः श्रुतम् ।
परस्परं भक्ष्यन्तो मत्स्या इव जले कृशान् ॥ *Mbb.* *Śānti*, LXVII, 16-7.
Translation by P. C. Ray.

The term *arājaka rājya*, thus, means anarchy and has definitely no connection with a particular type of constitution or non-monarchical state.

Kula Rājya : Another type of non-monarchical state, referred to in the Mahābhārata is *Kula-rājya*,¹⁹ i.e. the rule of families. Kauṭilya also hints at the existence of such states.²⁰ In *Kula Rājyas*, family seems to have been the basis of franchise.²¹ In the Śānti Parva, Bhīṣma says that in such states, greed and jealousy lead to mutual destruction.²² Further details are not given. The *Kula-putras* were legible to hold various administrative offices and were made the president turnwise.²³ That their other aspects were similar to those of the *Sanighas*, is known from the Arthaśāstra, wherein Kauṭilya describes them to be of the nature of a *saṅgha Saṅgha dharmin*).²⁴

Gaṇa Rājya : The Mahābhārata mentions *Gaṇa Rājyas* also. The word *Gaṇa* has been a riddle for scholars, who have interpreted it variously. To Fleet it means "tribe",²⁵ where-

19. गणानां च कुलानां च राज्ञां भरतसत्तम । Ibid., CVII, 10.

20. कुलस्य वा भवेद्राज्यं कुलसंघो हि दुर्जयः ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, (Ed. G.P. Sastry), I, 17, 55.

21. जात्या च सदृशाः सर्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा । *Mbh. Śānti*, CVII, 30.

22. गणानां च कुलानां च राज्ञां भरतसत्तम ।

वैरसन्दीपनावेतौ लोभामर्षौ नराधिप ॥

लोभमेको हि वृणुते ततोऽमर्षमनन्तरम् ।

तौ क्षयव्ययसंयुक्तावन्योन्यश्च विनाशिनौ ॥ Ibid., CVII, 10-11.

23. यस्स कस्सचि महानाम कुलपुत्तस्स पञ्च धम्मा संविज्जन्ति, यदि वा रज्जो खत्तियस्स मुद्घामिसित्तस्स यदि वा रठ्ठिक्कस्स पेतनिकस्स यदि वा सेनाय सेनापतिकस्स यदि वा गामगमिकस्स यदि वा पूगगामणिकस्स येवा पन कुलेसु पच्चेकाधिपच्चं कारेन्ति । *Anguttara Nikāya* (Ed. E. Hardy) Vol. III, p. 76.

24. Teste Jayaswal, op.cit. p. 85.

25. J.R.A.S., 1915, pp. 138-40.

as Bühler explains it as the "trade-guilds".²⁶ F. W. Thomas interprets the word as the "governing body" or the "Senate",²⁷ Hopkins as "corporations of every sort",²⁸ Majumdar as "political corporation",²⁹ N. N. Ghosh as "Local corporations",³⁰ Foy as a "village assembly"³¹ and Jolly as the "local committees" or "courts."³² In the light of the later researches, however, these interpretations do not seem to be acceptable.

Literally the word *Gaṇa*, taken as a verb, means to count, to number or to enumerate. While taken in the sense of a noun, it denotes an assembly or a group.³³ Keeping in view the context of its use and its characteristics, its best explanation will be 'the rule of many' which is evidently a form of non-monarchy. That it stands for a type of non-monarchical state is proved also by the internal evidence of the *Māhābhārata*. The Epic informs that Arjuna defeated several *Gaṇas*.³⁴ The very fact that Arjuna invaded them

-
- ✓ 26. Jayaswal, op.cit., Part I, p. 26.
 - ✓ 27. *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 524.
 - ✓ 28. Social and Military position of the Ruling Class in Ancient India, *JAOS*, Vol. 13, p. 82.
 - ✓ 29. *Corporate Life in Ancient India* (1922), Introduction, p. 2.
 - ✓ 30. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*—A Sociological Study, *Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Pt. II, p. 378.
 - ✓ 31. Die Koningliche Gewalt, p. 20, n.1, Teste Mukandi Lal, Republican Tradition in Indian Polity, *Modern Review*, January, 1920, p. 16.
 - ✓ 32. Teste Mukandi Lal, op. cit., p. 16.
 - 33. Apte : *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, S. V. *Gaṇa*, p. 447; Monier Williams : *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (New ed.), S. V. *Gaṇa*, p. 343.
 - 34. पौरवं युधि निर्जित्य दस्यून् पर्वतवासिनः ।
गणानुत्सवसंकेतानजयत् सप्त पाण्डवः ॥ *Mbh. Sabhā*, XXVII, 16,
See also *Slokas* 17--26.

proves that they were political units and not tribes or trade-guilds. A monarch, who had launched the universal conquest, wanted to defeat states and naturally had nothing to do with the trade-guilds or tribes. Moreover, the characteristics and features like the four-fold policy,³⁵ espionage,³⁶ powerful army and rich treasury,³⁷ required in a *Gaṇa*, also leave no doubt that the word *Gaṇa* is indicative of a particular type of non-monarchical government, that was in vogue in ancient India.

Scholars differ as regards the form of non-monarchy which it denotes. Some hold that *Gaṇas* were aristocracies³⁸ or oligarchies³⁹ probably on the ground that in the *gaṇas* power was vested not in the whole body of citizens but in a small aristocratic class. It would be, however, better to translate the word as republics. On account of power being vested in a minority of people the title of republic has not been denied to the ancient Roman Republic nor to Dutch Republic in the beginning of the modern age. The evidence of the Mahābhārata leads us to the same conclusion.

35. सामदानविभेदनैः । Ibid., Śānti, CVII, 12.

36. चारश्चामित्रकर्षण । Ibid., CVII, 24.

See also Vajpai, *Hindū Rājyaśāstra*, pp. 283-4.

37. चारमंत्रविधानेषु कोषसन्निचयेषु च ।

नित्ययुक्ता महाबाहो वर्धन्ते सर्वतो गणाः ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, CVII, 19.

38. "There can be no doubt that throughout this lesson, the word (*gaṇa*) has been employed to denote the aristocracy of wealth and blood that surrounded a throne." P. C. Ray : *Mbh. Trans.* Vol. VII, p. 249 (f. n.)

39. "The kingship tinged with feudalism is the predominant type of government in the *Mbh.* But there are a few passages which point to the existence of *Gaṇas* or oligarchies." Beni Prasad : *The State in Ancient India*, p. 102. See also, H.N. Sinha : *Sovereignty in Ancient India*, p. 255.

The Mahābhārata hints at a trend of ultra republicanism by saying that there were kings in every house, who were interested in their own welfare.⁴⁰ It further says that all the members of a *gaṇa* had equal rights and share in the affairs of the state.⁴¹ To be brief, *gaṇas* can be legitimately described as republics. We shall now take up *Saṅgha*, the non-monarchical confederacies.

Saṅgha (Confederacy) : The *Saṅghas* consisted of several independent *gaṇas*. The Mahābhārata speaks of them.⁴² Being very small in comparison with the vast-extending monarchical states, *Gaṇas* have been advised by Bhīṣma to form a confederacy. Bhīṣma firmly believes that united they (the republics) stand and divided they fall. To him, if combined, the *gaṇas* become more happy and powerful, so much so that others seek their alliance. Hence, the *gaṇas* should avoid dissension and disunion and should form a *Saṅgha* (confederacy), the 'great refuge' of the *gaṇas*.⁴³

40. गृहे गृहे हि राजानः स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रियंकराः । *Mbh.* Sabhā, XV, 2.
See also *Ibid.*, Sānti, CCCXX, 149.

41. जात्या च सदृशाः सर्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा ॥ *Ibid.*, CVII, 30.
न गणाः कृत्स्नशो मन्त्रं श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत ॥ *Ibid.*, CVII, 24.
मंत्रसंवरणं दुःखं बहूनामिति मे मतिः ॥ *Ibid.*, CVII, 8.

42. *Ibid.*, LXXXI, 25; CVII, 13—6, 32.

43. भेदे गणा विनेशुहि भिन्नास्तु सुजयाः परैः ।
तस्मात् संघातयोगेन प्रयतेरन् गणाः सदा ॥
अर्थाश्चैवाधिगम्यन्ते संघातबलपौरुषैः ।
बाह्याश्च मैत्री कुर्वन्ति तेषु संघातवृत्तिषु ॥
ज्ञानवृद्धाः प्रशंसन्ति शुश्रूषन्तः परस्परम् ।
विनिवृत्ताभिसंघाता सुखमेवन्ति सर्वशः ॥
... ..
भेदाच्चैव प्रदानाच्च भिद्यन्ते रिपुभिर्गणाः ॥

तस्मात्संघातमेवाहुर्गणानां शरणं महत् । *Ibid.*, CVII, 14-6, 31-2.

संघातभिसंहतत्वादधृष्यान् परेषां ताननुगुणान् भुञ्जीत सामदानाभ्यां विगुणान्
भेददण्डाभ्याम् ॥ *Arthasāstra* (Ed. Shamasastri, 1919) XI, I. p.378.

Aim of the Saṅghas : As has been remarked earlier, the *Saṅghas* stood for strengthening and unifying the republics and for safeguarding their independence. Material achievement too was their aim. That the question of the defence of a *gaṇa* was under the jurisdiction of a *Saṅgha* is hinted by Bhīṣma⁴⁴. Pāṇini speaks of the combined force of the Kṣūdrakas and the Mālavas.⁴⁵

Other Characteristics of the Gaṇas and the Saṅghas : As has been already remarked, one has to face the difficulty of scanty information while writing on any aspect of the ancient Indian non-monarchical states. The Mahābhārata throws no light, whatsoever, on the functioning and organisation of *Kula rājya*. It gives meagre information about some aspects of the *Gaṇas* and the *Saṅghas*, but there too we find the tendency of blending the descriptions of the *Gaṇas* with those of the *Saṅghas*. It seems likely that the *Gaṇas* and the *Saṅghas* had similar organisations and administration. In the following paragraphs, an attempt has been made to draw a picture of some characteristics of the *Gaṇas* and the *Saṅghas* on the basis of stray expressions and scattered statements.

Membership of a Saṅgha and its joint assembly : It appears that every member *Gaṇa* sent its representatives to constitute a joint or common assembly⁴⁶ of the *Saṅgha*. Each batch of the representatives had its respective head, designated as 'Īśvara'.⁴⁷ The President of this assembly was

44. अर्थश्चैवाधिगम्यन्ते संघातबलपौरुषैः । *Mbh. Śānti*, CVII, 15.

45. *Aśṭādhyāyī*, 4, 2, 45. *Teste Kapoor*, op. cit., p. 203.

46. This assembly has been called *Parisā* i.e. *Paṛiṣada* in the Buddhist literature.

47. यादवाः कुकुराः भोजाः सर्वे चान्धकवृष्णयः ।

त्वय्यायत्ता महाबाहो लोका लोकेश्वराश्च ये ॥ *Mbh. Śānti*, LXXXI, 29.

called "*Saṅgha Mukhya*."⁴⁸ Kṛṣṇa was *Saṅgha Mukhya*.⁴⁹ At one place, he calls himself "*ardha-bhoktā*"⁵⁰ i.e. "enjoyer of the half". This suggests that sometimes the assembly had two Presidents. Every *Gaṇa* aspired one of its members to occupy the honourable post of the *Saṅgha Mukhya*. This ambition gave rise to strong contest, rivalry and criticism in the assembly,⁵¹ which created headache for the chief. Even a great diplomat like Kṛṣṇa could not escape it and felt that though the chief, his position was like that of a slave.⁵² This leads us to the conclusion that the members of the common assembly enjoyed freedom of speech and expression. They had double membership, of their own *Gaṇa* as well as that, of the *Saṅgha*.

Procedure, followed in the Saṅgha meetings : Our information about the procedure, followed in the meetings of the *Saṅghas*, is based on the Ādi Parva, which describes the kidnapping of Subhadrā by Arjuna. While Subhadrā was returning to Dvārikā after worshipping deities at the Raivata mount, Arjuna kidnapped her. At this the soldiers, accompanying Subhadrā, rushed to Dvarikā and told the *Sabhāpāla* (an officer) about what had happened. The *Sabhāpāla* blew the bugle, hearing which the Andhakas, the Vṛṣṇis and the Bhojas at once assembled in the assembly hall (the *Santhāgāra* of the Buddhist literature), which was known as *Sudharmā Sabhā*.⁵³ Being the assembly hall of the

48. *Mbh. Śānti*, LXXXI, 25; cf. *Arthasāstra* (Ed. Shamasastri, 1919) XI, 1, p. 381.

49. संघमुख्योऽसि केशव । *Mbh. Śānti*, LXXXI, 25.

50. अर्धभोक्तास्मि भोगानां । *Ibid.*, LXXXI, 5.

51. *Ibid.*, LXXXI.

52. दास्यमैश्वर्यवादेन ज्ञातीनां न करोम्यहं । *Ibid.*, LXXXI, 4.

53. In the Buddhist literature also, the Mote Hall has been called "*Sudhammo*", which is the Pāli form of Sanskrit "*Sudharmā*". The

Yādava *saṅgha* it has been styled as the “Yādavī *Sudharmā Sabbhā*” in the Maṇḍala Parva.⁵⁴ In the Hall seats were arranged for the members to sit. After the members took their seats, the *Sabbhāpāla* narrated the whole incident before them, hearing which they got highly annoyed at Arjuna and wanted to fight against him. But a little later, being requested by Balarāma to give his opinion, Kṛṣṇa told the members to honour Arjuna, since this type of marriage was allowed for the *Kṣatriyas*. They were convinced. They changed their decision and acted accordingly.⁵⁵ This leads us to follow that this joint assembly was the highest authority of the *Saṅghas*.

So far about the procedure, followed in the meetings of the *Saṅghas*. The Mahābhārata has nothing to say about the meetings of the *Gaṇas*. Perhaps they also worked on the same lines as mentioned above. In the Buddhist literature, however, we have a similar account of the meeting of the Śākyans. We are informed that desirous of entering into the matrimonial alliance with the Śākyans, Pasenadi proposed to marry a daughter of one of the Śākyan chiefs. The Śākyans assembled in the Mote Hall to discuss this proposal and deemed it below their dignity to send the daughter of a chief. At the same time they decided to send a girl, named Vāsabha Khattiya, the daughter by a slave woman and this was accordingly done.⁵⁶

very meaning of the word *Sudharmā*, viz. *Suṣṭhum Dharmaṁ asyām iti Sudharmā* (i.e. one, of which the *Dharma* is excellent is *Sudharmā*) shows the place of *Dharma* ^{sa} in ^a these assemblies. ^{kar}

54. *Mbh.* Maṇḍala, VII, 7. MI

55. *Ibid.*, Ādi, Chaps., CCXVIII-CCXX.

56. Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India* (London, 1903), pp. 10-11.

According to the Ambaṭṭha Suttānta when Ambaṭṭha went to Kapilavastu, he went to the Mote Hall, wherein the meeting of the Śākyaans was being held.⁵⁷

Another reference to the Śākyaan assembly is found in the besieging of the capital of Śākyaans by the king of Kośala. The Śākyaans assembled to discuss whether they should surrender or not. Some were in favour of surrender and some against it. To arrive at a decision, the Śākyaans resorted to voting and the decision of the majority was accepted by all.⁵⁸

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa⁵⁹ informs us of the Yādavas' meeting, held in connection with the *Syamantaka Maṇi*, a jewel. In the beginning, the purpose (*prayojana*) of the meeting was announced. This was followed by a discussion and thereafter a decision was arrived at.

To take a resume, all the judicial, administrative and miscellaneous problems of the republicans were discussed in the assembly.

Officers of the Gaṇas and the Saṅghas :

President : The President of the assembly of the *Gaṇa* was designated as the *Gaṇa-Mukhya*⁶⁰ and that of the *Saṅgha*, as the *Saṅgha-Mukhya*⁶¹ or *Mukhya*.⁶² He has been called *Rājā*,⁶³ *Puroga* and *Adhipati*⁶⁴ also. Unlike the monarchical

57. Teste Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India*, p. 19.

58. Rockhill : *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 118-9.

59. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (G. P. Ed.), IV, 13, 137-61.

60. *Mbh.* Śānti, CVII, 23-5.

61. संवमुख्योऽसि ईश्वर । *Ibid.*, LXXXI 25.

62. मुख्यमन्धकवृष्णीनामपश्यं कृष्णमागतम् । *Ibid.*, Udyoga, LVII, 2.

See also *Ibid.*, Ādi, CCXXI, 8; *Ibid.*, Vana, XV, 23; Śānti, LXXX, 32.

63. *Ibid.*, Vana, XV, 23.

64. अहिकानामधिपतिः पुरोगः सर्वसात्वताम् ।

महामना महावीर्यो महासत्त्वो जनार्दनः ॥ *Ibid.*, Udyoga, LXXXVI, 2.

heads, who were generally hereditary, the post of the President of a *Gaṇa* or *Sanḥa* seems to have been elective.

Vice-President : The Vice-President of the assembly has been given the title of *Upa-rājā* in the Mahābhārata.⁶⁵

Ministers and Heads of the Departments : These officers have been referred to as *Pradhāna*, i.e. chief in the Mahābhārata.⁶⁶ They were the heads of different departments, e.g. *Senāpati* (head of the army) and *Dānapati*⁶⁷ (head of the finance department.)

Sabbhāpāla : Reference to the *Sabbhāpāla* and the steps taken by him in connection with the Subhadrā-Haraṇa (Subhadrā's kidnap) lead us to infer that perhaps he was an officer, who had to be always present in the assembly-hall i.e., he was a residential officer, who could be availed of at any time and arrange for holding the meetings sine die.⁶⁸

Other Characteristic Features of the Gaṇas.

Secrecy of counsel (Mantra-guṇṭi) : Being the rule of many, there were more chances of secret counsels being announced.⁶⁹

65. Ibid., Śānti, LXXX, 32. In the Buddhist literature, however, *rājā* and *uparājā* occur respectively for the members of the assembly and their sons. Vide, Altekar : *Prācīna Bhāratiya Śāsana Paddhati*, p. 79.

66. *Mbb.* Śānti, CVII, 24.

67. तत्र दानपतिर्धौमानाजगाम महायशः ।

अक्रूरो वृष्णिवीराणां सेनापतिरिदम ॥ Ibid., Ādi, CCXX, 29.

68. In the Buddhist literature, an officer known as *gaṇapūṛaka*, i.e. one, who completes the quorum, has been referred to (गणपूरको भविस्सामीति) *Mahāvagga*, (Ed. N. K. Bhagawat) III, Vassupāyika Khandako, p. 241. *SBE*, Vol. XIII, p. 307. See also Altekar, op.cit., p. 83. He was like the modern whip. The *Mbb.*, however, is silent about it.

69. मंत्रसंवरणं दुःखं बहूनामिति मे मतिः । *Mbb.* Śānti, CVII, 8.

Hence, Bhīṣma says that only the chief officers should be allowed to know about such strictly secret affairs.⁷⁰

Espionage (Cara-vibhāga) : The *gaṇas* should maintain an efficient and active department of espionage,⁷¹ with a view to getting correct informations. According to Bhīṣma only the high officials should be appointed herein.⁷²

The six guṇas (ṣaḍguṇyas) : Realising the importance of the six-fold foreign policy, known as *ṣaḍguṇya*, Bhīṣma says that one, who takes recourse to them in proper time, enjoys this earth for a very long time.⁷³ Similar is the opinion of Nārada.⁷⁴ These *guṇas*⁷⁵ are *Sandhi* (treaty), *vigraha* (war), *āsana* (assumption of an outwardly calm and inactive attitude towards the enemy after declaring hostility), *yāna*

70. मंत्रगुप्तिः प्रधानेषु चारश्चामित्रकर्षण ।

न गणाः कृत्स्नशो मंत्रं श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत ॥ *Mbb. Śānti*, CVII, 24.
See also *ibid.*, CVII, 19.

71. चारमंत्रविधानेषु कोशसंनिचयेषु च ।

नित्ययुक्ता महाबाहो वर्धन्ते सर्वतो गणाः ॥ *Ibid.*, CVII, 19.

72. मंत्रगुप्तिः प्रधानेषु चारश्चामित्रकर्षण । *Ibid.*, CVII, 24.

73. पाङ्गुण्यं च त्रिवर्गं च त्रिवर्गपरमं तथा ।

यो वेत्ति पुरुषव्याघ्र स भुङ्क्ते पृथिवीमिमाम् ॥ *Ibid.*, LXIX, 66.

74. आयत्यां च तदात्वे च न तेऽस्त्यविदितं प्रभो ।

पाङ्गुण्यस्य विधानेन यात्रायानविधौ तथा ॥ *Ibid.*, LXXXI, 28.

75. पाङ्गुण्यं इति यत्प्रोक्तं तन्निबोध युधिष्ठिर ।

संधानासनमित्येव यात्रासंधानमेव च ॥

विगृह्यासनमित्येव यात्रां सम्परिगृह्य च ।

द्वैधीभावस्तथान्येषां संश्रयोऽथ परस्य च ॥ *Ibid.*, LXIX, 67-8.

‘संधिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावष्पाङ्गुण्यम्’ इत्याचार्याः ॥

‘द्वैगुण्यम्’ इति वातव्याधिः, ‘संधिविग्रहाभ्यां हि पाङ्गुण्यं संपद्यते’ इति ।

‘पाङ्गुण्यमेवैतदवस्थाभेदात्’ इति कौटिल्यः । *Arthaśāstra* (Ed. Shama-sastry, 1919), 7, 18-9, p. 263.

(marching for war), *Samśraya* (seeking protection of a powerful king, who is to help him) and *Dvaidhībāva* (dual course of action).

✓ *Treasury* : A rich treasury played an important part in the life of a *gaṇa*. Hence, we find emphasis on the maintenance of a rich treasury in the Mahābhārata.⁷⁶

✓ *Equality* : Since *Gaṇas* were ruled by many, it seems likely that no one was deemed weak and disqualified for holding an office. All the members were given equal rights, according to the Mahābhārata.⁷⁷ Sometimes the feeling of equality became so much dominant that nobody wanted to listen to what others were saying. The Lalitavistara informs us that among the Licchavis of Vaiśālī the rule of having respect for the high, the middle ones, the elder and the eldest was not observed and nobody wanted to learn something from others (literally, did not want to become the follower, i.e. *śiṣya*, of others) because of the feeling "I am the *rāja*".⁷⁸

Developed legal system (Judiciary) : A perfect judiciary, working in accordance with the injunctions of the scriptures, was another characteristic of a *Gaṇa*, as known from the

संधि च विग्रहं चैव यानमासनमेव च ।

द्वैधीभावं संश्रयं च षाड्गुणांश्चिन्तयेत्सदा ॥ *Manu*, VII, 160 192.

संधि च विग्रहं यानमासनं च समाश्रयम् ।

द्वैधीभावं च संविद्यान्मन्त्रयैतास्तु षड्गुणान् ॥ *Sukra*, IV, 1-VII, 6-7.

76. चारमंत्रविधानेषु कोशसंनिचयेषु च ।

नित्ययुक्ता महाबाहो वर्धन्ते सर्वतो गणाः ॥ *Mbh.* Śā. 13. *Tatrādānena*, much." To me,

77. See Supra, f. n. 41 of this chapter.

78. नीचमध्यवृद्धज्येष्ठानुपालिता, एकैक एव मन्यते अहं राजन्", by taking the

न च कस्यचिच्छिष्यत्वमुपगच्छति.....*Lalita*na. *Adāna* means 'not about it. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 52.

Mahābhārata.⁷⁹ It appears that the authority and rights of settling disputes were vested in the elders of a *Gaṇa*, because Bhīṣma says that if the elders do not pay heed to the wranglings of the *Gaṇas*, the latter are sure to perish.⁸⁰

✓ *Military character* : In a monarchical state, it were generally the *Kṣatriyas* who formed the military class. Other *Varnas* took recourse to fighting only in exceptional times and cases. But in a republic, almost all the members were familiar with the use of arms and weapons. This was so, because the *Gaṇas* were small in size and had little population in comparison to the vast extending monarchical states. They always had the danger of being invaded and defeated by a superior power. Their small size was one of the important causes of their disappearance in ancient India. Hence, it seems to be quite in the fitness of things that the ancient Indian *Gaṇas* had a military character.

Moral strength : As we shall presently see, morals occupied an important place in the *Gaṇas*.

Philosophical basis : The ancient Indian *Gaṇas* held philosophy in a very high esteem and made an important contribution towards the development of Indian Ethics. The *Kāthopaniṣad* was composed by the *Kāṭhas* of Punjab. Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was born in the Śāk^अ *Gaṇa*, Mahāvīra, the Jain Tīrthankara, also belonged पा^{मा}. The *Bhagavadgītā*, the bedrock of Indian Ethics

75. पाङ्गु ascribed to Kṛṣṇa, the towering personality and संधानासः of the *Yādava Saṅgha*.⁸¹

विगृह्यासन्। _____

द्वैधीभावस्तथावहारांश्च स्थापयन्तश्च शास्त्रतः ।

‘संधिविग्रहासन्निश्यन्तो विवर्धन्ते गणोत्तमाः ॥ *Mbb.* Śānti, CVII, 17.

‘द्वैगुण्यम्’ इति वा जाता कुलवृद्धैरुपेक्षिता ।

‘पाङ्गुगुण्यमेवैतदवस्थन्ति गणभेदस्य कारणम् ॥ *Ibid.*, CVII, 27—8.

sastry, 1919), 7, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 171-2.

Dissension (Bheda) : The *Gaṇas* should give no place to dissension and disunion, which according to the Mahābhārata, are their greatest enemies and lead to their downfall.⁸² Similar is the view of the Dīgha Nikāya.⁸³ Kautilya advises a king to create dissension in a *Gaṇa*,⁸⁴ with a view to capturing it. Yudhiṣṭhira visualised the dangers caused by dissension (*bheda*) in a republic. That is why he requested Bhīṣma to tell him the way, which could avoid *Bheda*.⁸⁵ It is to avoid dissension and disunion that Bhīṣma says that the workers of a *gaṇa* should be paid properly, otherwise they become dissatisfied, disunited and full of fear and consequently they side with the enemy.⁸⁶ Thus, *Bheda* was the greatest enemy of the republics.

Non-monarchies and Morals in Theory :

The life of a non-monarchical state, like that of the people of the whole country, was under the supreme domination of *Dharma*. *Dharma* was assigned a more

82. भेदाद्विनाशः संघानाम् । *Mbh. Śānti*, LXXXI, 25.

भेदमूलो विनाशो हि गणानामुपलक्ष्ये । *Ibid.*, CVII, 8.

भेदे गणा विनेशुहि भिन्नास्तु सुजयाः परैः ॥ *Ibid.*, CVII, 14.

83. See *Infra* f. n. 98 of this chapter.

84. संघाभिहतत्वादधृष्यान् परेषां ताननुगुणान् भुञ्जीत सामदानाभ्याम् विगुणान् भेददण्डाभ्याम् । *Arthasāstra* (Ed. Shamasastri), XI, 1, p. 378.

Cf. श्रेणिनैगमपाषण्डिगणानामप्ययं विधिः ।

भेदं चैषां नृपो रक्षेत् पूर्ववृत्तिं च पालयेत् ॥ *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, II, 192.

85. गणानां वृत्तिमिच्छामि श्रोतुं मतिमतां वर ।

यथा गणाः प्रवर्धन्ते न मिद्यन्ते च भारत ॥ *Mbh. Śānti*, CVII, 6-7.

86. तत्रादानेन मिद्यन्ते गणाः संघातवृत्तयः ।

भिन्नाः विमनसः सर्वे गच्छन्त्यस्त्रिवशं भयात् ॥ *Ibid.*, CVII, 13. *Tatrādānena*, according to P.C. Ray, indicates "to take too much." To me, a better translation seems to be "non-payment", by taking the word as a compound, consisting of *tatra-adāna*. *Adāna* means 'not giving'. Nilakanṭha, however, is silent about it.

important place in the non-monarchies, where each and every individual was required to be highly moral, since this was the rule of many and every citizen had equal share in the affairs of the state and was expected to make equal contributions to its welfare.

The Mahābhārata does not deal with all the types of non-monarchical states and morals in explicit terms. It, however, refers to the relations between *Gaṇas* and morals at two places. In the Śānti Parva, Bhīṣma quotes the view of Nārada, according to whom moral virtues like forgiveness and self-restraint along with wisdom and renunciation of wealth are key to success.⁸⁷ At another place in the same Parva, greed (*lobha*) and jealousy (*amaṛṣa*) are said to be dangerous for the *gaṇas*, because a greedy person becomes jealous of others, which ultimately results in the loss of men and money.⁸⁸ Hence, the members of a *gaṇa* should avoid *lobha* (greed), taking it to be a source and basis of sins (*pāpasya adhiṣṭhānam*). It gives rise to vices like fraud (*nikṛti*), anger (*krodha*), desires (*kāma*), ignorance (*ajñāna* and *moha*), trickery (*māyā*), pride (*māna*), dependence (*para-sutā*), lack of forgiveness (*akṣamā*), decrease of *Dharma* (*dharma samikṣaya*), pride of family, education, beauty and wealth (*Kulavidyāmadāścaiva rūpaśvāryamadastathā*), unsympathetic behaviour towards mankind, lack of contentment and lack of control over sense organs.⁸⁹ Thus all sorts

87. नान्यत्र बुद्धिक्षान्तिभ्यां नान्यत्रेन्द्रियनिग्रहात् ।

नान्यत्र धनसंत्यागाद् गणः प्राज्ञेऽवतिष्ठते ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXXI, 26.

88. गणानां च कुलानां च राज्ञां भरतसत्तम ।

वैरसंदीपनावेतौ लोभामर्षौ नराधिप ॥

लोभमेको हि वृणुते ततोऽमर्षमनन्तरम् ।

तौ क्षीयव्ययसंयुक्तावन्योन्यं च विनाशिनौ ॥ *Ibid.*, CVII, 10-11.

89. *Mbh.* Śānti, CLVIII, CVIX.

of vices spring from covetousness (*lobha*).⁹⁰ For their success the members of a *gaṇa* should avoid anger (*krodha*), ignorance (*moha*), greed (*lobha*)⁹¹ and hard words even if one speaks such words to them.⁹² The republicans should have control over their mind.⁹³ It was their duty to respect their officers⁹⁴. The elders should train the younger people to be modest and punish them in accordance with their crimes.⁹⁵ A perfect judiciary, working in accordance with the injunctions of the scriptures, was another characteristic of the ancient republics.⁹⁶ The Mahābhārata, thus, attaches great importance to morals for a republican state.

In this connection, mention may be made of the Mahāpari-nibbānasutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, which records that to Gautama, the Buddha, a republic could be successful and invincible if it rested on a sound moral foundation. It is said therein that Ajātaśatru wanted to attack the Vajjians. He sent his minister, Varṣakāra, to Buddha to know the latter's opinion. Buddha asked his famous disciple Ānanda whether the Vajjians held meetings regularly, whether they

90. सर्वदोषास्तथा लोभात् तस्माल्लोभं विवर्जयेत् ॥ Ibid., CLIX, 12.

91. अकस्मात् क्रोधमोहाभ्यां लोभाद् वापि स्वभावजात् ॥

अन्योन्यं नाभिभाषन्ते तत्परामवलक्षणम् । Ibid., CVII, 29-30;

See also Ibid., CVII, 22.

92. ज्ञातीनां वक्तुकामानां कटुकानि लघूनि च ।

गिरा त्वं हृदयं वाचं शमयस्व मनांसि च ॥ Ibid., LXXXI, 22.

93. नामहापुरुषः कश्चिन्नात्मा नासहायवान् ।

महतीं धुरमाधत्ते तामुद्यम्योरसा वह ॥ Ibid., LXXXI, 23.

94. तस्मान्मानयितव्यास्ते गणमुख्याः प्रधानतः । Ibid., CVII, 23.

95. पुत्रान् भातृन् निगृह्णन्तो विनयन्तश्च तान् सदा ।

विनीतांश्च प्रगृह्णन्तो विवर्धन्ते गणोत्तमाः ॥ Ibid., CVII, 18.

96. धर्मिष्ठान् व्यवहारांश्च स्थापयन्तश्च शास्त्रतः ।

यथावत् प्रतिपश्यन्तो विवर्धन्ते गणोत्तमाः ॥ Ibid., CVII, 17.

followed rules strictly, whether they respected their elders, whether they paid due respects to the women-folk, whether they performed religious deeds and whether they respected the *Arhats* (the sanctified saints). Receiving an affirmative reply from Ānanda, Buddha said :

1. "So long Ānanda . . . as the Vaggians⁹⁷ hold these full and frequent public assemblies...,

2. "So long, Ānanda, as the Vaggians meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out their undertaking in concord....,

3. "So long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vaggians, as established in former days....,

4. "So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words....,

5. "So long as no women or girls belonging to them are detained among them by force or abduction....,

6. "So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian shrines in town and country.....,

7. "So long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the Arhats among them.,

"So long may the Vaggians be expected not to decline but to prosper."⁹⁸

97. SIC.

98. Vide, *Dīgha Nikāya* (Ed. J. Kashyapa), Mahābparinibbāna Sutta, pp. 58 ff, with special reference to the following passage.

यावकीयं च आनन्द वज्जी अभिण्हं सन्निपाता सन्निपातबहुला भविस्सन्ति...
यावकीयं च आनन्द वज्जी अपञ्चात्तं न पञ्चापेस्सन्ति, पञ्चात्तं न समुच्छिन्दिस्सन्ति
यथापञ्चात्तेसु पोराने वज्जिधम्मं सिक्खापदेसु वत्तिस्सन्ति...ये ते वज्जीनं वज्जि-
महल्लंका ते सक्करिस्सन्ति, गरं करिस्सन्ति, मानेस्सन्ति, पूजेस्सन्ति, तेसं च सोतव्वं
मञ्चि स्सन्ति...कुलित्थियो कुलकुमारियो तां न सक्करिस्सन्ति, गरं करिस्सन्ति

Non-monarchies and morals in practice.

The Mahābhārata describes dissension (*bheda*), anger (*krōdha*), greed (*lobha*) and hard words as the greatest enemies of the republics. But the state of affairs in practice was sometimes, specially during the decadant period, just the contrary of the theory. Republics were, in fact, the seats of the vices mentioned above. Even a great diplomat like Kṛṣṇa, to whom nothing about policy was unknown,⁹⁹ complains to Nārada that he was the target of severe criticism, hard words and abuses. He says, "As a firestick is churned by a person, desirous of obtaining fire, even so my heart is churned by my kinsmen with their cruel speeches."¹⁰⁰ Dissension and party-politics also were present therein. There were two opposition parties, headed by Āhuka and Akrūra respectively. Each wanted Kṛṣṇa to favour his side. It was very difficult for Kṛṣṇa to decide as to whom he should side with.¹⁰¹ In his words, he was like the mother of two brothers, gambling against each another. She was desirous of the victory of one but not of the defeat of the other.¹⁰²

To put briefly, vices like hard words, greed and dissension etc. were present in non-monarchies and thus the

मानेस्सन्ति पूजेस्सन्ति तेसं च दिन्नपुद्वं कतपुव्वं घम्मिकं बलिं नो परिहापेस्सन्ति
नो परिहायेस्सन्ति...वज्जीनं अरहन्तेसु घम्मिका रक्खावरणगुत्ति सुसंविहिता
भविस्सन्ति किन्ति अनागता च अरहन्तो विजिते फासु विहरेय्युं ति बुद्धियेव आनन्द,
वज्जीनं पटिकंखा नो परिह्वानि । Translation from the *Sacred Books of
the East Series*, Vol. XI, pp.3-4.

99. *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXXI, 28.

100. अरणीमनिकामो वा मघ्नाति हृदयं मम ।

वाचा दुरुक्ते दुरुक्ते तन्मे दहति नित्यदा ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti, LXXXI, 6.

101. द्वाभ्यां निवारितो नित्यं वृणोम्येकतरं न च ॥ *Ibid.*, LXXXI, 9.

102. सोऽहं कितवमातेव द्वयोरपि महामते ।

एकस्य जयमाशंसे द्वितीयस्यापराजयम् ॥ *Ibid.*, LXXXI, 11.

ideal had exceptions and sometimes very serious ones. In principle, a severe list of morality was prescribed for the republics. In practice, however, especially during the decadent periods, there were frequent breaches of moral test, which ultimately led to the disruption of the republics.

CHAPTER VII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND MORALS

Recognition of the Existence of a Number of States : The existence of a number of states in ancient India has been proved by various branches of ancient Indian literature.¹ The Mahābhārata also refers to many states, monarchical and non-monarchical, small and big. The existence of these states proves the existence of inter-state relations also. In the words of H.L. Chatterjee, "Intercourse among states in ancient India was taken for granted. It was rather the rule than the exception. States were convinced that they could not remain in isolation, even if they so liked, and this conviction made such intercourse somewhat unavoidable."²

Conception of Inter-state Relationship : Though international law and relationship, as understood in our times, cannot, in the strict sense of the terms, be said to have prevailed in ancient India, yet they were present in a rudimentary

-
1. See Viswanatha : *International Law in Ancient India*, pp. 5-9.
Chatterjee : *International Law and Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 4-5.
C. V. Vaidya : *Epic India*, pp. 180 ff.
Majumdar : *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, (II Ed). Chap. III, pp. 215 ff.
 2. Chatterjee : *op.cit.*, p. 7.

form and certain aspects of them were definitely known to the ancient Indians. They were mostly concerned with sovereign states. Sometimes even the relationship between the suzerain and the feudatories was included within the jurisdiction of foreign affairs.³

Different Kinds of Relationship :

The Mahābhārata classifies the different states under four heads, viz., (i) friendly states or allies, known as *Mitra* or *Subhṛd*, (ii) inimical states, known as *Ari* or *śatru*, (iii) neutral states, known as *Udāsīna*, and (iv) intermediary states, known as *Madhyastha* or *Madhyagata*.⁴ This classification is based on the following kinds of relationship with the foreign states (i) hostility (*vigraha* or *yuddha*), (ii) neutrality (*Udāsīnatā*), (iii) friendship (*Mitrata*) and (iv) mediation (*Madhyasthatā*). These relationships are closely connected with the *Śāḍgunya*, the six expedients to be used by a king or the six measures of royal policy.

Śāḍgunya : The Mahābhārata as well as the other ancient Indian works on polity unanimously describe and prescribe *Śāḍgunya*, the six-fold foreign policy, consisting of *Sandhi* (treaty and alliance), *vigraha* (war), *yātrā* or *yāna* (march for war, i.e. invading the territory of a weaker king), *Āsana* ("maintaining a post against an enemy"⁵) and "skilful withdrawal in face of danger"⁶ *Samśraya* or *Samāśraya* (seeking

3. H.L. Chatterjee : op.cit. Foreword by K.A. Nilakantha Sastri.

4. For reference to these terms, vide, *Mbh.* Udyoga, XXX, 3; Bhīṣma, XXXVI, 16; XXXVIII, 23; L, 16; Śānti, LXXXVI, 21; Strī, I, 34.

5. Dikshitar : *War in Ancient India* (1944), p. 312.

6. K.M. Jhaveri : *Ethic discourses of Bhīṣma, Bhāratiya Vidyā*, 1940, Vol. II. p. 38.

protection of a superior king) and *Dvaidhibhāva* (adopting a dual policy).⁷ We shall deal with these one by one.

1. *Sandhi* : It stands for a “treaty of peace made by the belligerent parties to bring about a cessation of hostilities. It may also be a form of compact or alliance between two or more rulers to carry out works in which they have a common interest.”⁸ It “binds sovereigns in faith to one another”⁹ and is a “solemn promise given by the contracting parties to each other to do, or refrain from doing parti-

7. षाङ्गुण्यमिति यत् प्रोक्तं तन्निबोध युधिष्ठिर ।

सन्धानासनमित्येव यात्रा सन्धानमेव च ॥

विगृह्यासनमित्येव यात्रां सम्परिगृह्य च ।

द्वैधीभावस्तथाऽन्येषां संश्रयोऽथ परस्य च ॥ *Mbh. Śānti, LXIX, 67-8.*

Commenting on these verses Nilakaṇṭha says :

सन्धानासनं सन्धिं कृत्वाऽवस्थितिः यात्रासन्धानं यानम् ॥

विगृह्य वैरं कृत्वाऽवस्थानं विग्रहः । यात्रां सम्परिगृह्य आसनं शत्रोर्मयप्रदर्शनार्थं यानं प्रदर्श्य स्वस्थानेऽवस्थानम् । द्वैधीभावः उभयत्र संधिकरणं परस्य अन्यस्याश्रयो दुर्गादिर्महाराजस्य वा ॥

cf. षाङ्गुण्यस्य प्रकृतिमंडलं योनिः । संधिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावाः

षाङ्गुण्यमिति आचार्याः ॥ द्वैगुण्यमिति वातव्याधिः ॥ संधिविग्रहाभ्यां हि

षाङ्गुण्यं सम्पद्यते इति ॥ षाङ्गुण्यमेवेतदवस्थाभेदादिति कौटिल्यः

तत्र पणवन्धः सन्धिः ॥ अपकारो विग्रहः ॥ उपेक्षाणमासनम् ॥

अभ्युच्चयो यानम् । परार्पणं संश्रयः संधिविग्रहोपादानं द्वैधीभाव इति षड्गुणाः ॥

Arthaśāstra (Ed. G.P. Sastry). Bk. VII, Chap. I, 1-11, The whole chapter has been devoted to these six *gūṇas*.

संधिं च विग्रहं चैव यानमासनमेव च ।

द्वैधीभावं संश्रयं च षड्गुणांश्चिन्तयेत्सदा ॥ *Manu, VII, 160.*

संधिं च विग्रहं यानमासनं च समाश्रयम् ।

द्वैधीभावं च संधिद्यान्मन्त्रस्यैतांस्तु षड्गुणान् ॥ *Sūkra, IV, 1065-6.*

8. N. N. Law : Six Guṇas in Kauṭilya, K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume, p. 449.

9. S.V. Viswanatha : *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 167.

cular things. It creates friendly relations between two powerful states.”¹⁰

The ideas behind making a treaty were to defend against the aggression of other powers, to prevent the dangerous overgrowth of a particular state, to acquire territory, to maintain the balance of power among states and to defeat a common enemy.¹¹

The Mahābhārata mentions a few circumstances under which a king should enter into a treaty with another king. A person, afflicted by a stronger one, should make peace even with an enemy. One, in distress, also should do the same thing in order to save his life.¹² When the enemy is powerful and one's own condition is not so, a treaty should be entered into.¹³ According to the Mahābhārata this was the view of Bhṛhaspati also.¹⁴ In the Śalya Parva, Kṛpācārya advised Duryodhana to make a treaty with the Pāṇḍavas, because at that time, the power of the latter was increasing and that of the former, decreasing.¹⁵ The Mahābhārata says that one should make alliance (to protect his life) because life should always be protected. He, who, keeping in view his interests, makes a treaty with an enemy and opposes a

10. G.T. Date : *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 63.

11. Viswanatha, op.cit., p. 96.

12. बलिना संनिकृष्टस्य शत्रोरपि परिग्रहः ।

कार्यं इत्याहुराचार्या विषमे जीवितार्थिना । *Mbh.* Śānti, CXXXVIII, 45-6.

13. यदा परे च बलिनः स्वपक्षश्चैव दुर्बलः ।

सार्धं विद्वंस्तथा क्षीणः परैः संधिं समाश्रयेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, Āśramavāsika, VI, 8.

14. हीयमानेन वै संधिः पर्येष्टव्यः समेन वा ।

विश्रिहो वर्धमानेन मतिरेषा बृहस्पतेः ॥ *Ibid.*, Śalya, IV, 43.

15. *Ibid.*, JV, 44-51. See also *ibid.*, Āśramavāsika, VI, 9-13., VII, 1-2.

friend, attains good results.¹⁶ But one should be very careful after entering into an alliance with a superior, otherwise the treaty would be of no use like the improper food.¹⁷ One, who having concluded a treaty becomes satisfied as if he has accomplished his objects (is cheated) like one, who is sleeping on the top of a tree and is awakened on having fallen therefrom.¹⁸

Types of Treaties : Treaty, according to the Mahābhārata is threefold., viz. *Hina* (bad), *Madhyama* (middling), and *Uttama* (good), made respectively through fear (*bhaya*), respect (*satkāra*) and gifts of wealth (*vitta*).¹⁹ More details about the types of treaties are wanting in the Mahābhārata.

2. *Vigraha* : In the ancient Indian literature, the word *Vigarha* has been used in two meanings, viz., (1) the threat of war, and (2) the actual waging of war. Nilakaṇṭha

16. संघातव्यं वृधैर्नित्यं व्यवस्य च हितार्थिभिः ।
 अमित्रैरपि संघेयं प्राणा रक्ष्या हि भारत ॥
 यो ह्यमित्रैर्नरो नित्यं न संदध्यादपंडितः ।
 न सोऽर्थं प्राप्नुयात् किञ्चित् फलान्यपि च भारत ॥
 यस्त्वमित्रेण संदध्यात् मित्रेण च विरुद्धयते ।
 अर्थयुक्तिं समालोक्य सुमहद् विन्दते फलम् ॥ *Mbb. Śānti*, CXXXVIII, 15-7.
 कालेन रिपुणा संधिः काले मित्रेण विग्रहः ।
 कार्यं इत्येव संधिज्ञाः प्रादुर्नित्यं नराधिप ॥ *Ibid.*, CXXXVIII, 207-8.
 संधिः कार्योऽप्यनार्येण संप्राप्योत्सादयेद्वि सः । *Sūkṛa*, IV, 1075.
17. कृत्वा बलवता सन्धिमात्मानं यो न रक्षति ।
 अपथ्यमिव तद् भुक्तं तस्य नार्थाय कल्पते ॥ *Mbb. Śānti*, CXXXVIII, 109.
18. योऽरिणा सह संघाय शयीत कृतकृत्यवत् ।
 स वृक्षाग्रे यथा सुप्तः पतितः प्रतिबुध्यते ॥ *Ibid.*, Ādi CXL, 75.
19. संधिश्च त्रिविधामिष्यो हीनो मध्यस्तथोत्तमः ।
 भयसत्कारवित्ताख्यं कात्सर्येण परिवर्णितम् ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti, LIX, 37.
 Commenting on this *śloka*, Nilakaṇṭha writes—भयेन संधिः हीनः ।
 सत्कारेण मध्यमः । वित्तग्रहणेन उत्तमः । तत् त्रयं सन्धिकारणं वर्णितम् ।

explains it as the posture, adopted after the declaration of hostility.²⁰ According to the Mahābhārata, war should be declared and waged against an inferior ruler when he is facing difficulties, but never against one, who has self-respect and whose soldiers are healthy and satisfied.²¹ One, who does not follow this advice, attains neither kingdom nor happiness.²²

3. *Yātrā* or *Yāna* : According to Nilakaṇṭha *Yātrā* consists in actual pursuit of direction of marching for war.²³ Śukra defines it as the invasion with a view to attaining victory and vanquishing the adversary.²⁴ A king should take recourse to this expedient only if he is confident about his victory and is sure that he is more powerful than the enemy. According to Manu, *Yāna* is two-fold, (i) marching alone against the foe, and (ii) attacking the alien state with the aid of the allied powers.²⁵ The Mahābhārata, however, does not give details about this.

4. *Āsana* : It consists in the “assumption of an outwardly calm and inactive attitude towards the enemy after the formal declaration of hostility.”²⁶ According to the Mahābhārata, *Āsana* stands for the posture of war but no actual war, after showing one’s readiness for marching

20. See Supra, f. n. 7 of this chapter. See also Śukra, IV, 1081-2.

21. *Mbh.* Āśramavāsika, VII, 1-2, See also Ādi, CCI, 11-2; Bhīṣma, CVI, 32-4; Śānti; CXL, 44.

22. बलिना विग्रहो राजन् न कदाचित् प्रशस्यते ।

बलिनो विग्रहो यस्य कुतो राज्यं कुतः सुखम् ॥ Ibid., CXXXIX, III.

23. यात्रासन्धानं यानम् । Nilakaṇṭha’s commentary on ibid., LXIX, 67.

24. शत्रुनाशार्थगमनं यानं स्वामीष्टसिद्धये । Śukra, IV, 1068.

25. एकाकिनश्चात्ययिके कार्ये प्राप्ते यदृच्छया ।

संहत्स्य च मित्रेण द्विविधं यानमुच्यते ॥ Manu, VII, 165.

26. N. N. Law : The Six Guṇas in the Kauṭilya, K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume, p. 450.

against the enemy.²⁷ Thus, it is half-way to war by exhibiting some military movements. A king desirous of following this kind of policy makes attempts to vanquish the foe.²⁸ According to Visvanātha, this expedient of foreign policy suggests that a king should assume the attitude of neutrality,²⁹ which is denoted by the term *Udāsīnatā* in the ancient Indian literature. Says he, "four main classes of neutrals appear to be in evidence in the Mahābhārata. These were actuated by different motives, and the neutrality was due to different causes :

1. Neutrals, whose position could not but be affected by the course of results of the war.
2. Neutrals, whose fortunes were practically unaffected by the course of the struggle.
3. Neutrals, who might be affected by the war, and who could, if they chose, change the course of the war by maintaining economic forces etc.

4. Neutrals, who were powerless to enter into the war, though their fortunes might be affected by the war."³⁰

On the basis of what *ślokas* of the Mahābhārata this classification has been made is difficult to say. Visvanātha has not given the reference. He has made this classification on the basis of Mitra's "War Philosophy—Ancient and Modern" referred to above.

27. विगृह्यासनमित्येव यात्रां सम्परिगृह्य च । *Mbb.* Śānti, LXIX, 68.
Commenting on this verse Nilakaṇṭha says :

शत्रोर्भयप्रदर्शनार्थं यानं प्रदर्श्य स्वस्थानेऽवस्थानम् ।

28. स्वरक्षणं शत्रुनाशो भवेत्स्थानात्तदासनम् । *Sukra*, IV, 1068.

29. Viswanath : *International Law in Ancient India* : p. 192.

30. *International Law in Ancient India*, pp. 192-3. Viswanātha is indebted for this suggestion to Mr. Mitra's War Philosophy—Ancient and Modern, the *Hibbert Journal*, 1916.

5. *Samśraya* can be defined as the act of seeking protection of a powerful monarch by a weak monarch, with a view to gaining strength. According to Nīlakaṇṭha it means to seek protection of another king or to take shelter in forts.³¹ "When a sovereign happens to be attacked by two powerful sovereigns, he is advised to have recourse to *Samśraya* with the nearer one, or to have *Kapāla Samśraya* with both, telling each of them that unless he is shown mercy he will be ruined by the other."³² In the words of G. T. Date, "the chief motive for alliance (*āśraya*) then, as in the modern world, was to put a check on the growing strength of one particular state and thereby to bring about a balance of power."³³ Manu describes two types of *Samśraya* in these words : "Twofold is said to be the nature of alliance with a more powerful ally, according as it is made by (a sovereign) highly pressed by his enemy at the time, or only as a pretext to intimidate his future and intending invaders."³⁴

The states that adopted this policy can be compared with modern protectorates. These states enjoy freedom but have to acknowledge the authority of the state that has given them protection.³⁵

6. *Dvaidhībhāva* or the dual course of action : The term *Dvaidhībhāva* has two meanings, (i) "double-dealing or

31. परस्य अन्यस्याश्रयो दुर्गदिर्महारजस्य वा । Commentary on *Mbb.* Śānti, XIX, 68.

32. N.N. Law : The Six Guṇas in the Kauṭilya, K. B. Pathak *Commemoration Volumes*, p. 451.

33. G. T. Date : *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 64.

34. अर्थसम्पादनार्थं च पीड्यमानस्य शत्रुभिः ।
साधुषु व्यपदेशार्थं द्विविधः संश्रयः स्मृतः ॥ *Manu*, VII, 169. M. N. Datta's rendering adopted.

35. Chatterjee : *International Law and Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*, p. 34.

duplicity, keeping apparently friendly relations with the enemy” and (ii) “dividing one’s army and encountering a superior army in detachments, harassing the enemy by attacking them in small bands.”³⁶ Manu uses the word in the latter sense.³⁷ In the context of the six expedients, it means waging war with one and making peace with another. Nilakaṇṭha explains it as “*ubhayatra sandhikaraṇam*”, which can be interpreted as making treaties with both the parties, fighting with each other.³⁸

The Fourfold Foreign Policy :

Upāya, *Nīti* and *Naya* are the different terms, used for policy,³⁹ which is said to be fourfold,⁴⁰ consisting of

36. Apte : *Students’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, SV *Dvaidibhāva*, p. 267.
37. वलस्य स्वामिनश्चैव स्थितिः कार्यार्थसिद्धये ।
द्विविधं कीर्त्यते द्वैधं षाड्गुण्य गुणवेदिभिः ॥ Manu, VII, 167.
Cf. दलार्धेन प्रयाणम् । *Agni Purāṇa*, 224, 19.
Teste N. N. Law : *Six Guṇas in the Kauṭilya*, K. B. Pathak *Commemoration Volume*, p. 452.
38. द्वैधीभावः उभयत्र संधिकरणम् । See Supra f.n. 7 of this chapter.
39. सान्त्वादिभिरूपायैस्तु । *Mbh. Ādi*, CXL, 13.
सर्वोपायैर्यथाकामं भवास्तदधिगच्छत ॥ Ibid., Vana, CXXII, 18.
साम्ना दानेन भेदेन दण्डेनाथ नयेन वा ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, CXXXII, 32.
Cf. *Rām. Sundara*, 41, 2-3.
उपायस्सामोपप्रदानभेददण्डाः । *Arthaśāstra*, 2.10. Teste Chatterjee op.cit., p. 116.
सर्वोपायैस्तथा कुर्यान्नीतिज्ञः पृथिवीपतिः । Śukra, IV, 33. See also ibid., IV, 23.
40. *Mbh. Vana*, CL, 42 mentions five policies, namely, *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Danda*, *Bheda* and *Upekṣā*. Sometimes seven *upāyas* have been referred to (See *Matya Purāṇa*, 222, 2; *Agni Purāṇa*, 226, 5-6; *Bārhaspatya Sūtra*, 5, 1-3; *Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa*, 2, 146-9). Besides the four traditionally accepted policies, the *Kāmandaka Nīlisāra* (XVII, 3) mentions three additional *upāyas*, viz. *Indrajāla*, *Māyā* and *Upekṣā*. In the *Bārhaspatya Sūtra* (5, 263) *Māyā*, *Upekṣā*

Sāma (conciliation or negotiation), *Dāna* (cession, persuasion or making gifts), *Bheda* (creating dissension) and *Danḍa* (war).⁴¹

To have an idea of the implication of these four cardinal points of ancient Indian foreign policy, the following elaborate definitions, given in the *Śukra Nītisāra*, deserve mention. According to *Śukra*, "When two kings enter into friendship, promise to do no harm to one another and to help one another (in the time of distress) that policy is known as *Sāma*".⁴²

"When a king says to another king 'my every thing belongs to you'⁴³ and gives away some villages to him or pays taxes (as tribute) to him, or pleases (literally, satisfies) him (by any other means), the policy is known as *Dāna*'.⁴⁴

and *Vadha* and in the *Sarasvatī Vilāsa* (p. 42) *Māya*, *Akṣa* and *Indrajāla* have been added. These terms have been explained as follows : In the *Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa* (2, 148) the harassment of the enemy by ill omen (*Apāśakuma*) has been called *Māyā*. If the enemy was going on the wrong path it should be allowed to go on that. This has been called *Upekṣā* and the presentation of different forms has been called *Indrajāla* (*Kāmandaka*, XVIII, 58-9; *Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa*, 2, 149).

41. कथं सान्त्वेन दानेन भेदैर्दण्डेन वा पुनः । *Mbh.* Ādi, CXL, 24.

साम्ना भेदेन दानेन दण्डेनैव च भारत । *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma, IX, 75.

See also Ādi, VI, 10; CCII, 20; Virāṭa, XXIX, 11; Udyoga, LXXXII, 12-3; CXXIX, 15; CXXXII, 32; Bhīṣma, III, 81; *Arthaśāstra*, 2, 10, teste Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 116; *Manu*, VII, 107-8; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 19, 35; *Śukra*, IV, 23, 34-7.

42. त्वत्समस्तु सखा नास्ति मित्रे साममिमं स्मृतम् । *Śukra*, IV, 25.

परस्परमनिष्टं न चिन्तनीयं त्वया मया ।

सुसहाय्यं हि कर्तव्यं शत्रौ साम प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ *Ibid.*, IV, 28.

See also *Kāmandaka*, XVII, 4-5.

43. मम सर्वं तवैवास्ति दानं मित्रे सजीवितम् । *Śukra*, IV, 25.

44. करैर्वा प्रमितग्रामैर्वत्सरे प्रबलं रिपुम् ।

तोषयेत्तद्धि दानं स्याद्यथा योग्येषु शत्रुषु ॥ *Ibid.*, IV, 29.

“When a king weakens the army or allies of another king, takes shelter of a powerful king and lifts or raises a weak king, the policy is known as that of *Bheda*”.⁴⁵

“When a king troubles his enemy through the robbers (*dasyus*), drains away his treasury and granary, watches his weak points (to declare war), threatens him by his strong force and intelligent policy and fights bravely against him at the outbreak of war, the policy is known as that of *Danda*”.⁴⁶

Like other ancient Indian works on polity, the Mahābhārata attaches great importance to diplomacy for maintaining the balance of power which is based on the principle that power should not be allowed to grow in strength or so collapse as to indirectly affect thereby other powers and states, as that would produce serious repercussions on inter-state relations”.⁴⁷ Moreover, the success or failure of a state depends on the policy that it adopts. According to the Mahābhārata, an arrow shot by a Bowman can go in vain and may or may not hurt someone, but the intelligence of an intelligent man is capable of destroying an entire kingdom

Cf. *Arthaśāstra* (Trans. Shamasastri, 1956), VII, 16, p. 338; *Kāmandaka*, XVII, 6-7.

45. शत्रुसाधकहीनत्वकरणात्प्रबलाश्रयात् ।
तद्धीनतोज्जीवनाच्च शत्रुमेदनमुच्यते ॥ *Sūkra*, IV, 30. See also *ibid.*, IV, 1018-9; *Arthaśāstra* (Trans. Shamasastri, 1956), VII, 16, pp. 338-9; *Kāmandaka*, XVII, 8.
46. *Sūkra*, IV, 31-2. See also *Kāmandaka*, XVII, 9-10.
47. Chatterjee : *International Law and Interstate Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 24-5.
- सर्वोपायैस्तथा कुर्यान्नीतिज्ञः पृथिवीपतिः ।
यथा स्वाभ्यधिका न स्युः मित्रोदासीनशत्रवः ॥ *Sūkra*, IV, 33.

along with its ruler. In other words, a well thought-out policy can never be futile.⁴⁸

These, it was believed, helped a king to be victorious and win over his friends.⁴⁹ In his *Nītisāra*, Śukra says that with the help of policy (*upāya*) even snakes, elephants and tigers, are brought under control and men can attain heaven. Even a stone can be pierced easily.⁵⁰ Its thorough knowledge helps in becoming victorious.⁵¹ That is why the Pāṇḍavas were advised to regain their lost kingdom with the help of these.⁵² One should take into consideration his calamities and difficulties in the light of these four policies.⁵³ Moreover, their absence is likely to make wars more frequent.⁵⁴ The *Mahābhārata*, like other ancient Indian works prefers 'battle of wits' to the 'battle of arms'.

-
48. एकं हन्यान्न वा हन्यादिषुर्मुक्तो घनुष्मता ।
बुद्धिबुद्धिमतोत्सृष्टा हन्यात्राष्ट्रं सराजक्म् ॥ *Mbb.* Udyoga, XXXIII, 43.
49. साम चोपप्रदानं च भेददण्डौ तथापरौ ।
उपायाः कथिताः सर्वे मित्रादीनां हि साधने ॥ *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 19, 35.
Cf. *Manu*, VII, 159.
50. उपायेन यथा व्यालो गजः सिंहोऽपि साध्यते ।
भूमिष्ठाः स्वर्गमायान्ति वज्रं भिन्दन्त्युपायतः ॥ *Śukra*, IV, 22
51. नयज्ञः पृथिवीं जयति । *Arthaśāstra*, Teste Dikshitar : *War in Ancient India*, (1944), p. 30.
52. *Mbb.* Udyoga, CXXXII, 32; *Bhīṣma*, X, 75.
Cf. *Manu*, VII, 159.
53. आपदश्चापि बोद्धव्या बहुरूपा नराधिप ।
भवन्ति राज्ञा कौरव्य यास्ताः पृथगतः शृणु ॥
विकल्पा बहुधा राजन्नापदां पाण्डुनन्दन ।
सामादिभिरुपन्यस्य गणयेत् तान् नृपः सदा ॥ *Mbb.* Āśramavāsika, VII, 10-11.
54. "Diplomacy is the name for a method of negotiation, persuasion and conciliation for promoting the common interests of different nations, and adjusting those interests which are opposed.... Without the diplomatic system, war would be more frequent than

War, according to the Epic, is full of evils and hence, should be avoided by all means possible. It allows war only as the last resort,⁵⁵ to be adopted when all the *Upāyas* have failed. It commends the victory, gained with the help of other *Upāyas* and condemns that, achieved in a battle. It says that the former is superior to the latter.⁵⁶ Bhīṣma informs us that this view was held by Br̥haspati also.⁵⁷ Manu,⁵⁸

it is. Behind the diplomatic system, however, lie the preparations for war; and in certain forms of policy, the threat of war is used as an instrument of diplomacy. ”

C.D. Burns, War, pp. 81-3. Teste, Dikshitar : War in Ancient India (1944) p. 399.

55. न साम्ना न दानेन न भेदेन च पाण्डव ।

शक्याः साधयितुं तस्माद् विक्रमेणैव ताञ्जहि ॥ *Mbh.* Ādi, CCII, 20.

साम्ना दानेन वा कृष्ण ये न शाम्यन्ति शत्रवः ।

योक्तव्यस्तेषु दण्डः स्याज्जीवितं परिरक्षता ॥ *Ibid.*, Udyoga, LXXXII, 13.

प्रदानं सामपूर्वं च भेदमूलं प्रशस्यते ॥

त्रयाणां विफलं कर्म यदा पश्येत भूमिपः ।

रन्ध्रं ज्ञात्वा ततो दण्डं प्रयुञ्जीताविचारयन् ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti XCIV, (Southern Recension, G. P. Edition).

Cf. *Manu*, VII, 107-8, 198; *Sūkra*, IV, 34.

56. उपायविजयं श्रेष्ठमाहुर्भेदेन मध्यमम् ।

जघन्य एष विजयो यो युद्धेन विशाम्पते ॥ *Mbh.* Bhīṣma, III, 81;

See also Udyoga, LXXII, 44, 70; Śānti, CII, 16.

57. वर्जनीयं सदा युद्धं राज्यकामेन धीमता ।

उपायैस्त्रिभिरादानमर्थस्याह बृहस्पतिः ॥ *Ibid.*, LXIX, 23,

See also Āśramavāsika, VI, 20.

58. साम्ना दानेन भेदेन समस्तैरथवा पृथक् ।

विजेतुं प्रयतेतारीन् न युद्धेन कदाचन ॥

त्रयाणामप्युपायानां पूर्वोक्तानामसम्भवे ।

तथा युध्येत सम्पन्नो विजयेत रिपूंस्तथा ॥ *Manu*, VII, 198 and 200.

See also *ibid.*, VII, 108-9.

Yājñavalkya,⁵⁹ Kāmandaka⁶⁰ and Śukra⁶¹ agree with the Mahābhārata in allowing war as the last resort and thus, exhibit a high moral sense. Such an attitude towards war was not a maxim of perfection only. It was put also in practice. The Pāṇḍavas delegated Kṛṣṇa as their ambassador to the Kauravas to make negotiations with them. Kṛṣṇa tried his best to avoid war resulting in the dynastic disunion, but could not be successful. Hence, he advised the Pāṇḍavas to wage war against the Kauravas.⁶²

Application of the Fourfold Foreign Policy : A king should be careful in using the policies of *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda* and *Danḍa*, because their proper application leads to the long-lasting happiness.⁶³ In the Virāṭa Parva, Kṛpācārya says, "Having recourse to the arts of conciliation, disunion, chastisement, bribery, presents and fair behaviour, attack thy foes and subdue the weak by might, and win over thy allies and troops by soft speeches. When thou hast (by these means) strengthened thy army and filled thy treasury, entire success will be thine".⁶⁴ The idea contained in these

59. दंडस्वगतिका गतिः ॥ *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, I, 346.

60. सामादीनामुपायानां त्रयाणां विफले नये ।

विजयेन्नयसम्पन्नो दंडं दंडेषु दंडवित् ॥ *Kāmandaka*, XVIII, 1.

61. *Śukra*, IV, 1131.

62. *Mbb*. Udyoga, Chap. CL.

63. एवं सर्वं विनिश्चित्य व्यवसायं स्वधर्मतः ।

यथा कालं मनुष्येन्द्र चिरं सुखमवाप्स्यसि ॥ *Ibid.*, Virāṭa, XXIX, 14.

See also Udyoga, CXII, 29-32 and Āśramavāsika, VI, 19.

64. साम्ना दानेन भेदेन दण्डेन बलिकर्मणा ।

न्यायेनाक्रम्य च परान् बलाच्चानम्य दुर्बलान् ॥

सान्त्वयित्वा तु मित्राणि बलं चाभाष्यतां सुखम् ।

सुकोपबलरंवृद्धः सम्यक् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यसि ॥ *Ibid.*, Virāṭa, XXIX, 11-2.

P.C. Ray's rendering adopted.

*śloka*s has been made clearer by the commentator Nilakaṇṭha in the following words : “ One should use the policies of *Sāma* and *Bheda* towards equals. The policy of *Dāna* should be used against a powerful and a superior king. The policy of *Danda* should be applied to a weaker and an inferior king. The latter should be killed in war or forced to pay taxes as tribute ”.⁶⁵

At another place also, the Mahābhārata says, “ When the army (of the enemy) is strong, the policy of *sāma* should be applied. If that does not serve the purpose, recourse to the policy of *Dāna* may be taken. Combining the policy of *Dāna* with that of *Bheda* has been praised.⁶⁶ *Bheda* being regarded as the greatest enemy of an army,⁶⁷ a king has been advised to create dissension (*bheda*) in the army of his enemy.⁶⁸

Kauṭilya holds the view that “ by means of conciliation and gift he should subdue weak kings ; and by means of sowing the seeds of dissension and by threats, strong kings ”.⁶⁹

According to Śukra, the policies of *Sāma* and *Dāna* should be applied to a strong enemy (*prabhale arau*), allies and those, troubled by enemies. *Sāma* and *Bheda* should be used for the

65. साम्ये सामभेदौ । अपरस्याधिक्ये दानं स्वभ्याधिक्ये दण्डो युद्धे निपातनं वा बलिकर्म वा करादानाख्यमिति बलाज्ञानफलम् ॥ Ibid., See also Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 23-4; Vana, XXXII, 55-7; Udyoga, CXXXV, 37; Āśramavāsika, VII, 4.

66. दण्डो हि बलवान् यत्र तत्र साम प्रयुज्यते । प्रदानं सामपूर्वं च भेदमूलं प्रशस्यते ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XCIV, p. 4667 (Southern Recension, G.P. Edition) See also Ibid., CII, 27.

67. बलस्य व्यसनानीह यान्युक्तानि मनीषिभिः । मुख्यो भेदो हि तेषां तु... ॥ Ibid., Virāṭa, LI, 13.

68. बलानि दूषयेदस्य जानन्नेव प्रमाणतः । Ibid., Śānti, CIII, 17. See also ibid., CIII, 28.

69. *Arthasāstra* (Trans. Shamasastri, 1956), Bk. VII, 16, p. 338.

superiors (*adbike*). *Bheda* and *Daṇḍa* should be adopted against equals (*same*), but never against an ally. The policy of *Bheda* is prescribed for causing disunion in enemy's subjects for one's victory. But the inferiors (*prabhīnaka*) should be treated with the policy of *Daṇḍa*".⁷⁰

The Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra says that the policies of *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda* and *Daṇḍa* should be duly used towards allies, neutrals, enemies and mediators, in accordance with the demands of the circumstances.⁷¹ The Mitākṣāra says that the four-fold policy should be applied not only in the conduct of political affairs, but also in our every-day life.⁷²

The Mahābhārata mentions several examples of the application of these *upāyas*. According to the Sabhā Parva, Arjuna subjugated Guhyakas with the policy of *Sāma*.⁷³ With a view to convincing Karna to side with the Pāṇḍavas, Kṛṣṇa used the policy of *Sāma* by telling him that in fact he was the eldest brother of the Pāṇḍavas, and that of *Dāna* by giving him the temptation that he would be made the king and he aimed at using the policy of *Bheda* by hinting that the Kauravas would not respect or honour him like the

70. प्रवलेऽरौ सामदाने सामभेदाधिके स्मृतौ ।

भेददण्डौ समे कार्यौ दण्डः पूज्यः प्रहीनके ॥

मित्रे च सामदानस्तौ न कदा भेददण्डने ।

रिपोः प्रजानां संभेदः पीडनं स्वजयाय वै ॥

रिपुप्रपीडितानां च साम्ना दानेन संग्रहः । *Sūtra*, IV, 35-7.

See also *ibid.*, IV, 1021.

71. शत्रुमित्रोदासीनमध्यमेषु सामभेदानदण्डान् यथाहं यथाकालं प्रयुञ्जीत ।
Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra, III, 38.

72. एते सामादयो न केवलं राज्यव्यवहारविषयाः, अपितु सकललोकव्यवहारविषयाः ॥
I, 346.

73. *Mbh. Sabhā*, XXVIII, 4.

Pāṇḍavas.⁷⁴ But these proved futile and Karna stuck to his decision of remaining with the Kauravas.⁷⁵

We know from the Udyoga Parva that the Pāṇḍavas deputed Kṛṣṇa as their ambassador to Duryodhana for making negotiations with the Kauravas. In order to settle their disputes peacefully, Kṛṣṇa used the policies of *Sāma*, *Dāna* and *Bheda* and on their proving futile, he resorted to *Danda*. Desirous of establishing brotherly feelings between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, he used the policy of *Sāma* and tried in vain to persuade Duryodhana to be on good terms with the Pāṇḍavas. Thereafter, he applied the policy of *Bheda*, but without success. He called many kings. For convincing them to side with the Pāṇḍavas, he mentioned their super-human feats and manifested his extra-ordinary powers, thereby establishing the superiority of the Pāṇḍavas to the Kauravas. *Bheda* also proved a failure. Hence, he took recourse to the policy of *Dāna* by telling Duryodhana to retain his kingdom and to give only five villages to the Pāṇḍavas for satisfying their *Kṣatriya* ambition. Duryodhana refused to do even this. Lastly, Kṛṣṇa declared that *Danda* should be employed against the Kauravas. This resulted in the War of Kurukṣetra.⁷⁶

In this connection, the legend, narrated by Kaṇika, who was asked by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to tell how an enemy could be overthrown with the help of these policies, deserves mention. Once upon a time, there lived in a forest, a jackal, a tiger, a mouse, a wolf and a mongoose. One day a healthy deer came to that jungle. Anxious, but unable to kill it because of its strength and speed, all the five friends held a meeting. They decided that the mouse would cut its feet

74. Ibid., Udyoga, CXL.

75. Ibid., CXLI.

76. Ibid., Udyoga, CL, 9-18.

while it was asleep, with the result that the deer would not be able to run fast and then the tiger would succeed in catching it. The plan was carried out with success. The clever jackal that wanted to eat the deer all alone told its friends to take bath before eating the deer. When the tiger came back, the jackal said, "the mouse was laughing at you, because it was with its help that you could catch the deer". This made the tiger feel sorry and insulted. Consequently, he went away without eating the flesh. Then came the mouse and the jackal said to him, "the mongoose says that the deer's flesh has been poisoned being bitten by the mouse. Hence, I would like to eat the mouse itself". At this the mouse was greatly terrified and entered its hole. Thereafter came the wolf, whom the jackal warned in these words, "the tiger is angry at you and has gone to bring his wife. Your life is in danger". With a view to saving its life, the wolf at once went away therefrom. The mongoose was the last victim of the jackal's policy. The latter told the former, "I have defeated all the other animals with my strength. You also fight with me and then only you can eat the flesh". Believing others to be actually defeated by the jackal, the mongoose showed its unwillingness to fight and went away. When they all went away, the clever jackal ate up the deer's flesh all alone and rejoiced.⁷⁷

Though Kaṇika says that this legend illustrates all the four means, it, in fact, is not so. *Bheda* and *Danḍa* seem to occupy prominent places and *Sāma* and *Dāna* are more or less absent.

The conception of Maṇḍala and its Importance.

In ancient India, the field of inter-state relationship was conceived in the form of a *Maṇḍala*, the circle of states.

77. Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 24-49.

which aimed at the maintenance of the balance of power and consisted of twelve types of states. According to the conception of *Maṇḍala*, a king was to regard one's own kingdom as the centre of twelve concentric circles, the outer circle representing the kingdom situated further from one's own. A king's relation with almost all the kingdoms on the circumference of one circle was expected to be similar. He was to arrange his relation with other states in such a way that foes and friends were so interspersed around him that at no time he was rendered helpless. In the event of his country being invaded there were always rulers to oppose the invasion for their own interest. This is the reason why the ancient Indian thinkers describe and unanimously prescribe the *Maṇḍala*.

According to Kāuṭilya, a *maṇḍala* consists of the following twelve types of kings :—

1. *Vijigīṣu* (one, desirous of victory). He was the king in the centre.
2. *Ari* (enemy). He was the immediate neighbour of no. 1 and hence, his enemy, because the closest neighbour is always inimical.
3. *Mitra* (friend). The immediate neighbour of no. 2 and hence, his enemy, was the friend of no. 1, because enemy's enemy is always a friend.
4. *Arimitra* (the friend of the enemy) happened to be the friend of no. 2 and his dominion was situated next to that of no. 3. He was the common enemy of nos. 3 and 5, his nearest neighbours.
5. *Mitramitra* (the friend's friend) was the ruler, who had his domain immediately next to no. 4. Like no. 3, he was also an ally of no. 1.
6. *Arimitramitra* (friend of the enemy's friend) had his kingdom, close to that of no. 5.

The above-mentioned states (nos. 2-6) had their states in front of the *Vijigīṣu* (no. 1). The following states (nos. 7-10) were situated rearward in the following geographical order :—

7. *Pārṣṇigrāha* (a rearward enemy) can be compared with no. 2, the only difference being that it attacked no. 1 from behind, when the latter had decided to wage war or had actually waged war against another state.

8. *Ākranda* was the rearward friend of no. 1. He can be compared with no. 3.

9. *Pārṣṇigrāhasāra*, the friend of the rearward enemy is the same as no. 4.

10. *Ākrandasāra*, the friend of the rearward friend i. e., no. 8 is comparable with no. 5.

11. *Madhyama* or *madhyastha*, the intermediary king, had his kingdom close to, or on the border of, the domains of nos. 1 and 2. He was capable of helping both of them and at the same time it was within his capacity to face them individually, and

12. *Udāsīna* or the neutral king. His realm was situated beyond that of the above-mentioned kings. He was capable of helping the allied or the inimical kings or the intermediary kings together or individually or, of facing them individually.⁷⁸

The *Aśramavāsika Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* gives the following conception of *Maṇḍala*. Therein Dhṛtarāṣṭra says to Yudhiṣṭhira, “Thou shouldst always ascertain the *Maṇḍala* that belong to thee, to thy foes, to neutrals and to

78. *Arthaśāstra*, VI, 2. Translated by Shamasastri (Mysore, 1956), pp. 290-91. For details, vide Kane; *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, pp. 217 ff; Mazumdar in *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Ed. Majumdar and Pusalkar), pp. 313 ff; Zimmer : *Philosophies of India* (New York, 1956), pp. 113ff; Spellman : *Political Theory of Ancient India*, pp. 156-9.

those, that are disposed equally towards thee and thy foes.. O Bhārata, the *Maṇḍalas* of the four kinds of foes, of those called *Ātatāyins*,⁷⁹ and of the allies and the allies of foes should be distinguished by thee O crusher of foes. The ministers of state, the people of the provinces, the garrisons of forts, and the forces, O foremost one of Kuru's race, may or may not be tampered with. (Thou shouldst, therefore, behave in such a manner that these may not be tampered with by thy foes). The twelve (enumerated above), O son of Kuntī, constitute the principal concerns of kings.. These twelve, as also sixty, having ministers for their foremost, should be looked after by the king. Professors conversant with the science of politics call these by the name of *Maṇḍala*. Understand, O Yudhiṣṭhira, that, six incidents (of peace war, march, halt, sowing dissensions and conciliation) depend upon these."⁸⁰

-
79. Nilakaṇṭha refers to their six kinds, but their list is absent. In the *Śabdakalpadrūma*, the following have been enumerated (1) one, who sets fire, (2) one, who gives poison, (3) one, with weapons in hand, (4) one, who takes away wealth, (5) one, who takes away land and (6) one, who kidnaps women. They should always be murdered and one is not associated with sin by doing so.

"अग्निदो गरदश्चैव शस्त्रपाणिर्धनापहः ।

क्षेत्रदारापहारी च षडेते आततायिनः ॥

आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् ।

नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चन ॥"

इति भगवद्गीताटीकायां श्रीधरस्वामी । *Śabdakalpadrūmaḥ* (Motilal Banarasidas, 1961).

80. मंडलानि च बुद्ध्यया परेषामात्मनस्तथा ।
उदासीनगणानां च मध्यस्थानां च भारत ॥
चतुर्णां शत्रुजातानां सर्वेषामाततायिनाम् ।
मित्रं चामित्रमित्रं च बोद्धव्यं तेऽरिकर्षण ॥

This passage shows that a *Maṇḍala*, according to the *Mahābhārata*, consisted of the following four sub-circles, each of which was constituted by three states.

1. The state at the centre of the *Maṇḍala* (*vijigīṣu*, the *ātmanab* of the above-mentioned passage), the friend and the friend's friend (3 states).

2. The enemy (*Ari*, called *Pareṣām* in this passage), his friend and his friend's friend (3 states).⁸¹

3. Neutral state (*Udāsīna*), its friend and its friend's friend (3 states) and

4. Intermediary state (*Mādhyastha*), its friend and its friend's friend (3 states).⁸²

तथामात्या जनपदा दुर्गाणि विविधानि च ।

वलानि च कुरुश्रेष्ठ भवत्येषां यथेच्छकम् ॥

ते च द्वादश कौन्तेय राज्ञां वै विषयात्मकाः ।

मन्त्रिप्रधानाश्च गुणाः षष्टिर्द्वादश च प्रभो ॥

एतन्मण्डलमित्याहुराचार्या नीतिकोविदाः ।

अत्र षाड्गुण्यमायत्तं युधिष्ठिर निबोध तत् ॥ *Mbh. Āśramavāsika*, VI, 1-5.

P.C. Ray's rendering adopted. Commenting on these verses, Nilakaṇṭha says :

अरिमित्रमित्यादीनि । उदासीनादन्यो मध्यमो द्वयोरपि इष्टाकांक्षी

चतुर्णां शत्रुपक्षे जातानां शत्रुः शत्रुमित्रं उभयोर्जयार्थी पराजयार्थी चेति ।

यथेच्छकं परैर्भेद्यत्यमभेद्यत्वं च भवति तस्मादवहितस्तिष्ठेत् यथा भेदो न भवेदिति

द्वादश चत्वारः शत्रुजाताः षट् आततायिनः, मित्रं अमित्रमित्रं चेति षष्टिर्गुणाः ।

कृष्यादीन्यष्टौ सन्धानकर्माणि बालादयो विंशतिरसन्धेयाः । नास्तिक्यादयश्चतुर्दश

दोषाः मन्त्रादीन्यष्टादशतीर्थानीति एतेषु केचित् हानार्थं ज्ञातव्याः केचिदुपादानार्थम् ॥

See also *ibid*, Śānti, LIX, 70 and N.N. Law : *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*, Pt. I, p. 24.

81. Four kinds of enemies have been referred to in *Mbh. Āśramavāsika*, VI, 2. According to Nilakaṇṭha they are (i) enemy (ii) enemy's friends, (iii) those, who wish the victory of both the sides and (iv) those, who wish the defeat of both the sides.

82. मध्यमस्य प्रचारं च विजिगीषोश्च चेष्टितम् ।

उदासीनप्रचारं च शत्रोश्चैव प्रयत्नतः ॥

According to the Epic, a *Maṇḍala* is constituted by seventy-two elements, which have been enumerated as follows. Each of the twelve constituent states of a *Maṇḍala* has seven constituents (*saptāṅgas*) of a state, which are *Svāmī* (sovereign), *Amātya* (ministers), *Janapada* (land and population), *Durga* or *Pura* (fortress or a fortified capital), *Kośa* (treasury), *Daṇḍa* or *Bala* (army), and *Mitra* (allies).⁸³ *Svāmī* being merged in the state and *Mitra* “in the allies among the twelve kings”⁸⁴, only five constituents of a state remain. These five constituents, when multiplied by the twelve constituents of a *Maṇḍala*, make a total of sixty. The twelve members of a *Maṇḍala* being added to sixty, the total comes to seventy two. The Arthśāstra of Kauṭilya,⁸⁵ the *Manu Smṛti*⁸⁶ and the *Kāmandaka Nītisāra*⁸⁷ give a similar explanation of the seventy two constituents of a *Maṇḍala*.⁸⁸

एताः प्रकृतयो मूलं मंडलस्य समासतः ॥ *Manu*, VII, 155-6.

Cf. *Arthaśāstra* (Trans. Shamasastri, 1956), p. 291, f.n.1.

83. See Supra, Chap. IV, State in the Mahābhārata., pp. 103 ff.

84. N.N. Law : *Interstate Relations in Ancient India*, p. 15.

85. *Arthaśāstra* (Translated by Shamasastri, 1956), p. 291 and f. n. 1
See also N. N. Law, op. cit. pp. 15-6; Salletore : *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, p. 39.

86. अमात्यराष्ट्रदुर्गार्थदंडाख्याः पञ्च चापराः ।

प्रत्येकं कथिता ह्येताः संक्षेपेण द्विसप्ततिः ॥ *Manu*, VII, 157.

87. मौला द्वादश यास्वेताः ह्यमात्याद्यास्तथा च याः ।

सप्ततिश्चाधिका ह्येताः सर्वं प्रकृतिमंगलम् ॥ *Kāmandaka*, VIII, 25. See also Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India* (1948), p. 313.

88. In the opinion of Dr. R. B. Pandey, “The analysis of this passage (*Mbh.* Āśramavāsika, VI, 1-5) reveals the following constituents—*Udāsīna* (neutral states), *Madhyastha* (mediator states), four kinds of enemies (*caturṇām śatrujātānām*), *Mitra* (friendly state) and *amitra-mitra* (enemy's friend, i.e. inimical states). It is interesting to note that besides the traditional constituents of *Maṇḍala*, as enumerated in other works on politics, the Mahābhārata includes *Amātya*

Diplomatic Agents : Ancient Indian thinkers well realized the important part played by the diplomatic agents in the field of diplomacy and foreign affairs. These diplomatic agents were of two kinds : (1) ambassadors (*dūta*) and (2) spies (*cara* or *guptacara*). Both aimed at the collection of information about the foreign states, although spies were employed to be watchful in the internal affairs as well. The difference between the spies and the ambassadors was that the spies were sent secretly, whereas the ambassadors were straightforward and open. We shall take up these one by one.

Ambassadors : In the Mahābhārata⁸⁹ as well as other Indian works,⁹⁰ the term *dūta* has been used to denote what we call as ambassador in English. Unlike the modern practice of stationing representatives as permanent agents in foreign states, in ancient India they were temporary officers, appointed for, and sent on, a special mission.

Functions and Duties of an Ambassador : The functions of a political ambassador,⁹¹ according to the ancient Indians

(ministers), *Janapada* (population and territory), *Durga* (fortress) and *Bala* (military force) also, which are elsewhere regarded as the constituents of the state. These twelve are described to be the main objects, which the king should take cognizance of. It has again been emphasised that the ministers are the repository of sixty virtues (necessary for the existence of the state). The sixty virtues, the twelve types of persons, the states, their constituents and officials constitute the *Maṇḍala*." Verbatim.

89. *Mbh.* Udyoga, XXXVII, 27; CLXII, 39; Śānti, LXXXV, 26; *Rām.* (Paṇḍita Pustakālaya, Banaras, 1951), Sundara, 52, 21.
90. *Ar. Sam.*, VII, 63-6; *Aṛiṣaśāstra*, I, 16, pp. 48-52; *Kāmandaka*, XII, Paśsim; *Sūkra*, II, 85-6.
91. I have deliberately used the word Political Ambassador, because ancient India sent and received cultural ambassadors also e.g. the delegation sent by Pandion or Porus to Augustus; Megasthenes,

were—to deliver the message correctly, as entrusted to him, to make or break alliances and treaties, to declare war or make peace, to study the geographical position of a foreign state, to study the weak and strong points of a foreign state, to study the military strength of a foreign state, to study the financial condition of a foreign state, and, to gather the greatest possible information.⁹²

Thus, an ambassador was concerned mainly with the vital questions of the foreign policy of a state. Since he had to perform these very important as well as delicate and dangerous duties, thinkers of ancient India wanted him to be highly qualified.

Qualifications of an Ambassador : According to the Mahābhārata an envoy should come of a noble family, be modest, skilful and an eloquent speaker, capable of conveying the message, exactly as entrusted to him and should have a sharp

sent by Selucus Nikator to the court of Candragupta Maurya ; Saṅghamitrā and Mahendra sent to Celyon and Nepal and Sona and Uttara, sent to Burma with a view to propagating Buddhism by emperor Aśoka; Heliodorus sent by Antialcidas to Bhāgabhadra; the ambassdor, sent by the Ceylonese king Meghavarṇa to the court of Samudragupta for seeking permission to construct a temple at Buddha Gaya; Fa-hien, who came to India during the reign of Candragupta Vikramāditya; Huen-T-Sang, who came to the court of Harṣa; the Brāhmaṇa ambassador, sent by Harṣa to China; the Kaśmīrian king Guṇa Varmā who propagated Buddhism in China as a monk; prince Pallava of Kāñci, who went to China for the spread of Buddhism and the ambassadors sent by emperor Mingti of China to India to learn the tenets of Buddhism. For details See V. S. Agrawal : *Embassies in Ancient India*, The *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. XX, July and December, 1947, pp. 6-12.

92. *Manu*, VII, 65-7; *Arthaśāstra* (Trans. Shamasāstry, 5th Ed.) p. 31 *Kāmandaka*, XII, 4-5, 7, 17, 21-5; *Śukra*, II, 86-8.

and excellent memory.⁹³ Almost the same qualifications of an ambassador have been enumerated by other ancient Indian writers also.⁹⁴ *Purobitas* (priests) also were deemed fit to play the role of an ambassador. Drupada sent his *Purobita*, a well versed *Brāhmaṇa*, in the same capacity to the Kauravas, on the eve of the War of Kurukṣetra.⁹⁵ King Hiraṇya Varmā also sent his *Purobita* as an ambassador to Drupada after knowing that Śikhāṇḍi, the so-called son of Drupada and the son-in-law of Hiraṇya Varmā, was a female.⁹⁶ The idea behind appointing *Brāhmaṇas* as ambassadors seems to make their immunities and privileges more effective.

Kinds of Ambassadors : The Mahābhārata is silent about the different kinds of ambassadors, who have been put under

93. कुलीनः कुलसम्पन्नो वाग्मी दक्षः प्रियंवदः ।

यथोक्तवादी स्मृतिमान् दूतः स्यात् सप्तभिर्गुणैः ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXXV, 28-

अस्तव्यमक्लीबमदीर्घसूत्रं सानुक्रोशं श्लक्षणमहार्यमन्यैः ।

अरोगजातीयमुदारवाक्यं दूतं वदन्त्यष्टगुणोपमान् ॥

Ibid, Udyoga, XXXVIII, 27

94. P. C. Dharma : *Rāmāyaṇa Polity*, pp. 86-7.

दूतं चैव प्रकुर्वीत सर्वशास्त्रविशारदम् ।

इंगिताकारचेष्टज्ञं शुचिं दक्षं कुलोद्गमम् ॥

अनुरक्तः शुचिर्दक्षः स्मृतिमान् देशकालवित् ।

वपुष्मान् वीतवीरिणी दूतो राज्ञः प्रशस्यते ॥ *Manu*, VII, 63-4.

प्रगल्भः स्मृतिमान् वाग्मी शस्त्रे शास्त्रे च निष्ठितः ।

अभ्यस्तकर्मा नृपते दूतो भवितुमर्हति ॥ *Kāmandaka*, XII, 2.

आयव्ययप्रविज्ञाता सुमंत्र स च कीर्तितः ।

इंगिताकारचेष्टज्ञः स्मृतिमान् देशकालवित् ।

षाड्गुण्यमित्रविद्वान्मी वीतभी दूत उच्यते ॥ *Sūkra*, II, 85-6.

95. *Mbh.* Udyoḡa, VI.

96. *Ibid.*, CLXXXIX; CXCI, 10; CXCII, 14-23.

the following three heads by Kauṭilya,⁹⁷ Kāmandaka,⁹⁸ and Somadeva Sūri.⁹⁹

1. *Niḥsr̥ṣṭārtha* : i. e. a plenipotentiary. He was an ambassador, to whom full powers of the management of an affair were entrusted. He was authorised to act in the way he judged to be the best, keeping in view the interests of his state. Kṛṣṇa may be referred to as an example of this type, since he promised to act at discretion in favour of the Pāṇḍavas,¹⁰⁰ when the latter deputed him to the Kauravas, to make negotiations, before the declaration of the War of Kurukṣetra.¹⁰¹

2. *Parimitārtha* or *Mitārtha*. i. e. an envoy whose rights were limited. His duties also seem to have been lesser, since Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka prescribe lesser qualifications for him.¹⁰²

3. *Śāsana-hara* or *Śāsana-vāhaka*. i. e. an ambassador, who was simply a “royal messenger”. He was assigned only one

97. अमात्य सम्पदापेतो निःसृष्टार्थः । पादगुणहीनः परिमितार्थः ।

अवर्मगुणहीनः शासनहरः । *Arthaśāstra*, (Ed. G. P. Sastry), I, 16, 2-4, p. 48.

98. निःसृष्टार्थो मितार्थश्च तथा शासनवाहकः ।

सामर्थ्यत्वादतो हीनो दूतास्तु त्रिविधः स्मृतः ॥ Kāmandaka, XII, 3.

Cf. the modern classification of diplomatic ministers (attempted by the Congress of Vienna in 1815) into (i) ambassadors and Papal Legates or Nuncios, (ii) Envoys, ministers, plenipotentiaries etc. and (iii) Charged' Affairs. See Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 57.

99. स च त्रिविधो निःसृष्टार्थ परिमितार्थः शासनहरश्चेति । *Nītivākyaṃṛta*, XIII, 3.

100. *Mbh.* Udyoga, LXXII, 80.

यत्कृतो स्वामिनः सन्धिविग्रहो प्रमाणं स निःसृष्टार्थो यथा कृष्णः पाण्डवानाम् ॥
Nītivākyaṃṛta, XIII, 4.

101. *Mbh.* Udyoga, LXXXIII ff.

102. See Supra, f. n. 97 of this Chapter.

particular task. Drupada's Purohita to the Kauravas, Hira-nyavarmā's ambassador to Drupada, Ulūka, deputed by Duryodhana to Yudhiṣṭhira and Sañjaya, sent by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to the Pāṇḍavas, can be cited as some examples of this type in the Mahābhārata. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma deputed Aṅgada as a *Sāsana-bara* to Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā.¹⁰³

Behaviour Towards an Ambassador : Emphasising the sacredness and inviolability of an ambassador, the Mahābhārata lays down salutary regulations in connection with the behaviour to be meted out to him. An envoy should be respected and treated courteously even if he conveys an unpleasant message because he is simply the mouthpiece of the king, who deposes him. As it is his duty to convey the message exactly as it has been entrusted to him, he should never be killed.¹⁰⁴ The murderer of an ambassador goes to hell along with his ministers. Moreover, his ancestors become guilty of embryo-cide.¹⁰⁵ The Rāmāyaṇa also prohibits the murder of an ambassador, who is simply the mouth-piece of his master,¹⁰⁶ because it is against the

103. *Rām. Yuddha*, 21.

104. दूताः किमपराध्यन्ते यथोक्तस्यानुभाषिणः । *Mbh. Udyoga*, CLXII, 39. Ulūka said the same thing to Yudhiṣṭhira in these words :

अभिज्ञो दूतवाक्यानां यथोक्तब्रुवतो मम ।

दुर्योधनसमादेशं श्रुत्वा न क्रोद्धुमर्हसि ॥ *Ibid.*, CLXI, 2.

Cf. दूतमुखा वै राजानः । *Arthaśāstra*, p. 30. *Teṣe Viśwanātha*, op. cit. p. 86.

105. न तु हन्यान्नृपो जातु दूतं कस्याञ्चिदापदि ।

दूतस्य हन्ता निरयं आविशेत्सचिवैः सह ॥

यथोक्तवादिनं दूतं क्षत्रधर्मरतो नृपः ।

यो हन्यात् पितरस्तस्य भ्रूणहत्यामवाप्नुयुः ॥ *Mbh. Śānti*, LXXXV, 26-7.

106. ब्रून् परार्थं परवान् न दूतो वधमर्हति । *Rām* (Paṇḍita Pustakālaya, Banarās, 1951), *Sundara*, 52, 21.

न्यस्तशस्त्रो गृहीतो वा न दूतो वधमर्हति । *Ibid.*, *Yuddha*, 25, 21.

public as well as political morality.¹⁰⁷ The *Nitivākyaṃṛta* goes to the extent of saying that he should not be killed even if he be offensive or equipped with weapons.¹⁰⁸ Side by side with this emphasis on the immunity of an envoy, the *Mahābhārata*¹⁰⁹ as well as the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹¹⁰ allow to punish or even to murder an ambassador, who is unfaithful or undutiful and if he does not convey the message properly.

Ambassadors in the Mahābhārata :

In the *Māhābhārata* this highly moral rule, connected with the immunity and privileges of ambassadors, was generally observed and once, transgressed. The Purohita of Drupada, deputed as an envoy to the Kauravas,¹¹¹ was duly honoured by Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Bhīṣma and Vidura.¹¹² Sañjaya, sent by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to the Pāṇḍavas in the same capacity, was received cordially by the latter.¹¹³ Duryodhana commissioned Ulūka to the Pāṇḍavas as his ambassador. Although the message, entrusted to him by Duryodhana and delivered before Yudhiṣṭhira was bitter and full of abuses for the Pāṇḍavas, yet no harm was done to him by the latter.¹¹⁴ Moreover, Yudhiṣṭhira told him not to fear in the least.¹¹⁵

107. राजधर्मविरुद्धं च लोकवृत्तेश्च गर्हितम् । Ibid., Sundara, 52, 6.

108. महत्यपकारेऽपि न दूतमुपहन्यात् ।

उद्धृतेष्वपि शस्त्रेषु दूतमुखा वै राजानः ।

तेषामन्त्यावासयिनोऽप्यवध्याः

। *Nitivākyaṃṛta*, XIII, 17-9.

109. यथोक्तं दूत आचष्टे वध्यः स्यादन्यथा ब्रुवन् ॥ *Mbh.* Udyoga, LXXII, 7.

110. यस्तु हित्वा मतं मर्तुः स्वमतं संप्रभाषते ।

अनुक्तवादी दूतः सन् स दूतो वधमर्हति ॥ *Rām.* Yuddha, 20, 19.

See also *ibid.*, Sundara, 52, 5.

111. *Mbh.* Udyoga, IV, 25; VI, XX.

112. *Ibid.*, XX, 1.

103. *Ibid.*, XXII-XXIII.

114. *Ibid.*, CLXI.

115. उलूक न भयं तेऽस्ति ब्रूहि त्वं विगतज्वरः । *Ibid.*, CLXI, 3.

Although Hiranyavarmā's envoy to Drupada conveyed an unfavourable message, bad treatment was not meted out to him by the latter.¹¹⁶ Kṛṣṇa worked as an ambassador of Yudhiṣṭhira and went to Hastināpura to make negotiations before the outbreak of the War of Kurukṣetra. Duryodhana planned to arrest him, but Dhṛtarāṣṭra opposed it, since Kṛṣṇa was coming as an ambassador.¹¹⁷ Sātyaki, however, came to know of this treacherous plan of Duryodhana. He informed Kṛṣṇa and others about it. Kṛṣṇa got highly annoyed to know it and used his super-human power before which Duryodhana had to yield.¹¹⁸ This is the only example of misbehaviour towards an ambassador, to be found in the Mahābhārata. It is noteworthy in this connection that Duryodhana chalked out this plan against Kṛṣṇa not because he was an envoy, but because he was the back-bone of the Pāṇḍavas. He clearly said, "hearing that this one of Vṛishṇī's¹¹⁹ race has been seized, the Pāṇḍavas will lose heart and become incapable of exertion like snakes whose teeth have been broken. This mighty-armed one is, indeed, the refuge and protection of them all. If this granter of wishes, this bull of the Sāttwatas,¹²⁰ be seized, the Pāṇḍavas with the Somakas will become depressed and incapable of exertion."¹²¹

116. Ibid., CXCI, 18-9.

117. Ibid., LXXXVIII, 18.

118. For details see ibid., LXXII-LXXIII, LXXXVIII, XCV, CXXX-CXXXI.

119. SIC.

120. SIC.

121. वयमेव हृषीकेशं निगृह्णीम वलादिव ।
 प्रसह्य पुरुषव्याघ्रमिन्द्रो वैरोचनि यथा ॥
 श्रुत्वा गृहीतं वाष्ण्य पाण्डवा हतचेतसः ।
 निरुत्साहा भविष्यन्ति भग्नद्रुष्टा इवोरगाः ॥

The Rāmāyaṇa gives examples of the violation of this rule by Rāvaṇa. Hearing the message, sent by Rāma through Aṅgada, Rāvaṇa got highly annoyed and ordered his ministers to arrest him. Four *rākṣasas* came forward and did accordingly. But with the help of his strength, Aṅgada managed to fly, with the result that all the four *rākṣasas* fell on the ground.¹²² At another place in the same Epic, we find Rāvaṇa ordering to the effect that the tail of Hanuman, Sugrīva's ambassador, should be burnt. This was actually done.¹²³

This leads us to the conclusion that in the Māhābhārata the rule, connected with the immunity and privileges of the ambassadors, was generally observed.¹²⁴

Espionage :

In India, the system of espionage is as old as the Ṛgveda.¹²⁵ The Mahābhārata informs us that it was a permanent and prominent feature of state and one of the eight limbs of the army.¹²⁶ As spies were the "eyes of

अयं ह्येषां महाबाहुः सर्वेषां शर्म वर्म च ।

अस्मिन् गृहीते वरदे ऋषभे सर्वसात्वताम् ॥

निरुद्यमा भविष्यन्ति पाण्डवाः सोमकैः सह । Ibid., Udyoga, CXXX, 5-8.

122. *Rām.* (Ed. & Trans. Chandramani Vidyalkar, Dehradun, 1953) Yuddha, 21, 39-46.

123. Ibid., Sundra, Sargas 50-51.

124. A historical example of such behaviour towards an ambassador is presented by Harṣa towards Huen-T-Sang. For details vide Chatterjee : op. cit. p. 65.

125. *Ṛgveda*, I, 25, 13; IV, 4, 3; VII, 61, 3 and 8; VII, 87, 3; X, 10, 1-16; XVIII, 1, 9, Teste Shamasatsry : *Evolution of Indian Polity*. pp. 126-8.

126. *Mbh.* Śānti, LIX, 41-2.

kings,"¹²⁷ the Mahābhārata lays down that a ruler should appoint them to collect information about the internal affairs and administration of his kingdom as well as about the foreign states.¹²⁸ Similar is the opinion of Manu,¹²⁹ Kauṭilya,¹³⁰ Śukra¹³¹ and Somadeva Sūri.¹³² Spies were to keep an eye on the conduct of the eighteen *tirthas* of a foreign state and fifteen of his own.¹³³ Their list has been given by the commentator Nilakanṭha, who says that a king need not employ spies to guard the conduct of his own

127. उदासीनारिमित्राणां सर्वमेव चिकीर्षितम् ।
पुरे जनपदे चैव ज्ञातव्यं चारचक्षुषा ॥ *Ibid.*, LXXXVI, 21.
चारेण तस्मादुच्यन्ते राजानो दीर्घचक्षुषः । *Rām. Aranya*, 33, 10.
चारचक्षुर्महीपतिः । *Kāmandaka*, XII, 28.
चारचक्षुर्नरेन्द्रः स्यात्
Ibid., XII, 30.
नृपचारचक्षुषो । *Kirātārjuniyam* (Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, Śaka, 1829) I, 4.
चाराश्चक्षुषि क्षितिपतीनाम् । *Nītivākyaṃrta*, XIV, 1.
128. चारस्त्वविदितः कार्य आत्मनोऽथ परस्य च । *Mbb. Śānti*, CXL, 40.
चारयेथाश्च सततं चारैरविदितैः परैः ।
परीक्षितैर्बहुविधैः परराष्ट्रप्रतिवासिभिः ॥ *Ibid.*, Āśramavāsika, V, 15.
129. चारणोत्साहयोगेन क्रिययैव च कर्मणाम् ।
स्वशक्तिं परशक्तिं च नित्यं विद्यान्महीपतिः ॥ *Manu*, IX, 298.
130. एवं शत्रौ च मित्रे च मध्यमे चावपेच्चरान् ।
उदासीने च तेषां तीर्थेष्वष्टदशास्वपि ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, I, 12, 22.
कृत्स्ने मण्डले नित्यं दूतान् गूढांश्च वासयेत् ।
मित्रभूतस्सपत्नानां हत्वा हत्वा च संवृतः ॥ *Ibid.*, VII, 13, 46.
131. *Śukra*, I, 333-5.
132. स्वपरमण्डलकार्याकार्यावलोकने चाराश्चक्षुषि क्षितिपतीनाम् ॥
Nītivākyaṃrta, XIV, 1.
133. कच्चिद्रष्टादशान्येषु स्वपक्षे दशपञ्च च ।
त्रिभिस्त्रिभिर्विज्ञातैर्वैतिस तीर्थानि चारकैः ॥ *Mbb. Sabhā*, V, 38.
See also *ibid.*, Śānti, LXIX, 9.

Mantrin, Purohita and *Camūpati (senāpati)*.¹³⁴ The spies were expected to report the public opinion to their ruler.¹³⁵ A king should plan to murder his enemy after getting the correct information about him, through his spies.¹³⁶ A king should post his spies in the different corners of his realm, eg. gardens, parks, monasteries, temples, mainroads, road-crossings, holy places, places where sacrifices were to be performed, wells, mountains, forests, rivers, dwelling places, entrances, assemblies, meetings, markets, clubs, meetings of the learned men and monks, in one's own kingdom as well as in the foreign states.¹³⁷ Anxious to know

- 134 मंत्री पुरोहितश्चैव युवराजश्चमूपतिः ।
पंचमो द्वारपालश्च षष्ठोऽन्तर्वेशिकस्तथा ॥
कारागाराधिकारी च द्रव्यसंचयकस्तथा ।
कृत्याकृत्येषु चार्थानां नवमो विनियोजकः ॥
प्रदेष्टा नगराध्यक्षः कार्यनिर्माणकस्तथा ।
धर्माध्यक्षः सभाध्यक्षो दण्डपालस्त्रिपंचमः ॥
षोडशो दुर्गपालश्च तथा राष्ट्रान्तपालकः ।
अटवीपालकान्तानि तीर्थान्यष्टादशैव तु ॥
चारात् विचारयेत्तीर्थेष्व्वात्मनश्च परस्य च ।

Placing so much confidence in these high officers of his own state seems to be rather peculiar. They also, could go against the king. For details regarding the *Tirthas*, vide, Jaiswal : *Hindū Rājyatantra* (Hindi Translation by Ramachandra Varma, Nāgarāṇī Pracārīnī Sabhā, V. S. 1999), Vol. II, pp. 259-63.

135. *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXXIX, 15-6; *Sūkra*, I, 130-35.

136. चारैर्विदित्वा शत्रूंश्च ये राज्ञामन्तरैषिणः ॥
तानाप्तैः पुरुषैर्दूराद् घातयेथा नराधिप । *Ibid.*, Āśrama vāsika, V, 37-8.

137. चारः सुविहितः कार्य आत्मनश्च परस्य वा ।
पापण्डस्तापसादींश्च परराष्ट्रेषु योजयेत् ॥
उद्यानेषु विहारेषु देवतायतनेषु च ।
पानागारेषु रथ्यासु सर्वतीर्थेषु चाप्यथ ॥
चत्वरेषु च कूपेषु पर्वतेषु वनेषु च ।
समवायेषु सर्वेषु सरित्सु च विचारयेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, Āś, CXI., 62-5.

the whereabouts of the Pāṇḍavas, during the period of the latter's *ajñātavāsa* (exile incognito) Karna suggested that spies should be asked to "wander through . . . kingdoms and populous provinces, prying into assemblies of the learned and delightful retreats of ascetics, in the inner apartments of palaces, in shrines and holy spots, in mines and diverse other regions. Let the search be made on the banks of rivers, in holy regions, in villages and towns, in retreats of ascetics, in mountains and mountain-caves."¹³⁸ Duḥśā-sana wanted his spies to follow these instructions and to go to different provinces in search of the Pāṇḍavas.¹³⁹ Thus, spies were to be scattered throughout one's own kingdom as well as foreign states.

चारांश्च विद्यात् प्रहितान् परेण भरतर्षभ ।

आपणेषु विहारेषु समाजेषु च भिक्षुषु ॥

आरामेषु तथोद्याने पण्डितानां समागमे ।

देशेषु चत्वरे चैव सभास्वावसथेषु च ॥

एवं विचिनुयाद् राजा परचारं विचक्षणः ।

चारे हि विदिते पूर्व हितं भवति पाण्डव ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LXIX, 11-3.

चत्वरेष्वथ तीर्थेषु सभास्वावसथेषु च ।

यथार्थवर्णं प्रणिधि कुर्यात् सर्वस्य पार्थिव ॥ Ibid., LXIX, 52.

उद्यानेषु विहारेषु प्रपास्वावसथेषु च ।

पानागारे प्रवेशेषु तीर्थेषु च सभासु च ॥ Ibid. CXL, 41.

138. चरन्तु देशान् संवीताः स्फीताञ्जनपदाकुलान् ।

तत्र गोष्ठीषु रम्यासु सिद्धप्रव्रजितेषु च ॥

परिचारेषु तीर्थेषु विविधेष्व्वाकरेषु च ॥

विज्ञातव्या मनुष्यैस्तैस्तर्कया सुविनीतया ॥

नदीकुंजेषु तीर्थेषु ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ।

आश्रमेषु च रम्येषु पर्वतेषु गुहासु च ॥ Ibid., Virāta, XXVI, 9-10

and 12. P. C. Ray's rendering adopted.

139. यथोद्दिष्टं चराः सर्वे मृगयन्तु यतस्ततः ॥

एते चान्ये च भूयांसो देशाद् देशं यथाविधि । Ibid., XXVI, 15-6.

Secrecy was the characteristic feature of the spies which distinguished them from the envoys. They could be roughly handled if found out.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, it was the duty of kings to detect and kill such emissaries. Hence, special care was to be taken in their appointment. They were to be so clever as to give no opportunity of being detected or identified.¹⁴¹

According to the Mahābhārata, the following could be assigned this risky task—*Brāhmaṇas*, hypocrites (*Pāṣaṇḍas*), *siddhas*, ascetics (*tāpasas*), those, who were capable of doing impersonation, those, who were cunning, those, who were well-skilled and those, who could pose to be blind and deaf in accordance with the demand of the situation.¹⁴² The most important point was to examine them thoroughly before their appointment¹⁴³ and to appoint them so secretly that they could not recognize one another.¹⁴⁴ This was laid down probably with a view to avoiding the possibility of conspiracy among the spies themselves. It is known from the Mahābhārata that these instructions about espionage were actually put into practice. Thus, Bhīṣma employed as spies, such persons, who lived as blind, dumb and deaf in the kingdom of Drupada and informed Bhīṣma that Śikhaṇḍī was a hermaphrodite.¹⁴⁵ A sage named Kāla-

140. Rāvaṇa sent Śuka as a spy to collect information about the movements of Rāma's force. He was roughly handled by the monkies of Rāma's side. *Rām. Yuddha*, 20th sarga.

141. See *Infra*, f. n. 144 of this chapter.

142. *Mbh.* Virāṭa, XXVI, 8, 11; XXVII, 10; Udyoga, CXII, 62; Śānti; CXL, 40.

143. *Ibid.*, LXIX, 8.

144. यथा न विद्युरन्योन्यं प्रणिधेयास्तथा हि ते ॥ *Ibid.*, LXIX, 9.

145. मम त्वेतच्चरास्तात यथावत् प्रत्यवेदयन् ।
जडान्धवविराकारा ये मुक्ता द्रुपदे मया ॥

kavṛkṣīya along with his crow went to the kingdom of Kṣemadarśi to know the news thereof. After taking several rounds of the state, he abused those officers, who were corrupt and who took away wealth from the royal treasury. He wanted them to confess their guilts and reported to the king about the corruption.¹⁴⁶ During the War of Kurukṣetra, Jayadratha came to know, with the help of spies that Arjuna had pledged to kill him and it were the spies, who informed Kṛṣṇa about the Kauravas' re-action against Arjuna's pledge.¹⁴⁷ These instances are sufficient to prove the existence of an efficient and active intelligence department or the system of espionage in the Mahābhārata.

Means to be adopted by the Spies :

Sometimes the spies were assigned the task of secretly creating trouble in other states. The Mahābhārata is silent about the means that should be adopted by an emissary in order to create trouble in a foreign state. Kauṭilya, however, permits any and every means for the spies. He disregards morality while speaking of these. He says that they should create dissensions in the foreign states, indulge the army-chiefs in love-affairs with young ladies and afterwards cause animosity among them. They should give poison to them by saying that 'this is a medicine which would make your beloved devoted to you.' Disguising as palmists they should rouse the ambition of becoming a king in the chief and high officers of the state, thereby making them unloyal towards the king. In war-time they should distribute wine or liquor, mixed with poison among the important military

एवमेव महाराज स्त्री पुमान् द्रुपदात्मजा ।

सप्तस्मृतः कुरुक्षेत्रे शिखण्डी रथसत्तम ॥ Ibid, Udyoga, CXII, 62-3.

146. Ibid., Śānti, LXXXII.

147. Ibid., Drona, LXXIII-LXXIV.

officers.¹⁴⁸ All this is indicative of a low moral standard. As remarked by Shamasastri, "the moral aspect of its work done in friendly or inimical states, as specified in Books XI, XII, XIII and XIV of the Arthaśāstra, may, however, be questioned and condemned as open to the objection of moralists."¹⁴⁹

To recapitulate, the diplomatic agents, as known from the Mahābhārata, were of two kinds, viz. ambassadors (*dūtas*) and spies (*caras* or *cāras*). Secrecy was the feature that distinguished both of them.¹⁵⁰ Ambassadors were open and straightforward whereas spies, like modern "Secret Service" moved secretly in their own as well as foreign states. Accordingly they differed from one another in dignity and immunity. Ambassadors were to be duly honoured even if they had brought a bitter message with them, whereas it was the duty of a king to detect and kill the spies of a foreign state.

Code for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs : Foreign affairs imply the mutual undertakings of different independent states. They may be broadly classified under two heads, viz., the enemy states and the allied states. The Mahābhārata pays more attention to the behaviour towards the former and has nothing particular to say about the behaviour towards the latter.

In the Bhagavadgītā section of the Mahābhārata, Lord Kṛṣṇa repeatedly vindicates and appreciates an attitude of

148. Vajapai : *Hindū Rājyaśāstra*, pp. 280 ff.

149. Shamasastri : *Evolution of Indian Polity*, pp. 131-2.

150. That is why Kāmandaka, II, 32. and *Agni Purāṇa*, 241, 12, (Tset Viswanath, op. cit. p. 74) call the ambassador as the 'open spy'.

equality towards friends and foes,¹⁵¹ although he himself never acted accordingly. Such views however, occur rarely. Generally speaking, the Epic allows all means, fair or foul, in the conduct of the foreign affairs of states.

The Mahābhārata advises a king to maintain friendship outwardly and to do him harm secretly. In the heart of his hearts, he should regard his enemy as dangerous as a snake and outwardly he should conciliate a foe with sweet assurances as if he were a friend.¹⁵² He should smile and speak sweet words outwardly but inwardly his heart should be as sharp as the edge of a knife.¹⁵³ Śukra adds that he should be careful to strike the enemy at his weak points.¹⁵⁴ In the foreign affairs, recourse to hypocrisy was not only allowed, but prescribed too. Thus, Kaṇika says to Dhṛtarāṣṭra that one should behave like a blind or a deaf person if necessary.¹⁵⁵ He should pose like an ascetic by performing sacrifices, bearing long hairs and putting on tawny robes and when the enemy has faith in him, he should strike him like a wolf.¹⁵⁶

151. सुहृन्मित्रार्युदासीनमध्यस्थद्वेष्यबन्धुषु ।

सायुष्वपि च पापेषु समबुद्धिर्विशिष्यते ॥ *Mbb.* Bhīṣma, XXX, 9.

समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च तथामानापमानयोः ।

शीतोष्णमुखदुःखेषु समः संगविवर्जितः ॥ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 18.

मानापमानयोः तुल्यस्तुल्यो मित्रारिपक्षयोः ।

सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी गुणातीतः स उच्यते ॥ *Ib d.*, XXXVIII, 25.

152. शत्रुं च मित्ररूपेण सान्त्वेनैवामिसान्त्वयेत् ।

नित्यशश्चोद्विजेत् तस्मात् गृहात् सर्पयुतादिव ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti, CXL, 15.

153. वाचा भृशं विनीतः स्यात् हृदयेन तथा क्षुरः ।

स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषी स्यात् सृष्टो रौद्राय कर्मणे ॥ *Ibid.*, Ādi, CXL, 66.

154. प्रफुल्लवदनेनैव तथा कोमलया गिरा ।

क्षुरधारेण मनसा रिपोश्च्छिद्रं सुलक्षयेत् ॥ *Sukra*, IV, 1182.

155. अन्वःस्यादन्धवेलायां वाविर्यमपि चाश्रयेत् । *Mbb.* Ādi, CXL, 12.

156. अग्न्याधानेन यज्ञेन काषायेण जटाजिनैः ।

लोकान् विश्वासयित्वैव ततो लुप्येद् यथा वृकः ॥ *Ibid.*, CXL, 19.

He should not hesitate to carry the enemy on his shoulders till the circumstances are unfavourable and when the proper opportunity arises the enemy should be destroyed like an earthen jar, broken with a piece of stone.¹⁵⁷ A king should slay his opponents at any cost¹⁵⁸ and with the help of all the means,¹⁵⁹ force as well as policy.¹⁶⁰ One, desirous of prosperity should murder even his son, friend, brother, father or preceptor, if they play the role of an enemy,¹⁶¹ because not checking the enemy means inviting death.¹⁶² The use of deceit and poison for killing the opponent has been justified on the ground that gods defeated demons with the help of the same.¹⁶³ Kālakavṛkṣiya prescribed many fraudulent schemes in the Śānti Parva.¹⁶⁴ Manu, however, is against deceit and trickery (*māyā*).¹⁶⁵

157. वहेदमित्रं स्कन्वेन यावत्कालस्य पर्ययः ॥
ततः प्रत्यागते काले भिन्याद् घटमिवाश्मनि । Ibid., CXL, 21-2.
158. वधमेव प्रशंसन्ति शत्रूणामपकारिणाम् । Ibid., CXL, 10.
हन्यादमित्रं दानेन तथा पूर्वापकारिणम् । Ibid., CXL, 15.
उच्छिद्यमानमात्मानं ज्ञात्वा राजा महामतिः ।
पूर्वापकारिणो हन्याल्लोकद्विष्टांश्च सर्वशः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LXIX, 17.
159. सर्वोपायैः निहन्तव्याः शत्रवः शत्रुसूदन । Ibid., Sabhā, LXXIV, 8.
160. तरसा बुद्धिपूर्वं वा निग्राह्या एव शत्रवः । Ibid., Śānti, XXIV, 16.
See also ibid., XV, 54-5.
161. पुत्रः सखा वा भ्राता वा पिता वा यदि वा गुरुः ।
रिपुस्थानेषु वर्तन्तो हन्तव्या भूतिमिच्छता ॥ Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 52.
162. दण्डेनोपनतं शत्रुं यो राजा न नियच्छति ।
स मृत्युमुपगृह्णाति..... ॥ Ibid., Śānti, CXL, 30.
163. निवृत्त्या निर्जिता देवैरसुराः पार्थिवर्षभ ॥
एवं बलवतः स्वमिति बुध्वा महीपते ।
जहि शत्रून् महाबाहो परां निवृत्तिमास्थितः ॥ Ibid., Vana, XXXIII, 60-61.
शपथेनाप्यरिं हन्याद् अर्थदानेन वा पुनः ।
विषेण मायया वापि नोपेक्षेत कथंचन ॥ Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 53.
164. Ibid., Śānti, CVI, 7.
165. अमाययैव वर्तेत न कथंचन मायया । Manu, VII, 104.

Like a hunter, who catches animals by giving them the temptation of food, a king should try to deprive the enemy of his kingdom with the help of deceit.¹⁶⁶ For this, he should not hesitate to adopt even a dual policy or a dual course of action. Kanika gives the following advice to a king, "If thou art angry, show thyself as if thou art not so, speaking even then with a smile on thy lips. Never reprove anyone with indications of anger (in thy speech). And O Bhārata, speak soft words before thou smiteth and even while thou art smiting ! After the smiting is over, pity the victim, and grieve for him, and even shed tears... thou must smite him when he walketh not right... by a sudden sally or pitched battle, by poison or by corrupting his allies, by gift of wealth, by any means in thy power, thou shouldst destroy thy foe. Thou mayest act with the greatest cruelty. Thou shouldst make teeth sharp to give a fatal bite. And thou shouldst ever smite so effectually that the foe may not again raise his head. Thou shouldst ever stand in fear of even one from whom there is no fear, not to speak of him from whom there is such. For if the first be ever powerful he may destroy thee to the root (for thy unpreparedness)".¹⁶⁷

166. जिह्वां दत्वा बहूनां हि क्षुद्राणां लुब्धचेतसाम् ।

निकृत्या लभते राज्यमाहारमिव शल्यकः ॥ *Mbh. Vana*, XXXIII, 59.

167. क्रुद्धोऽप्यक्रुद्धरूपः स्यात् स्मितपूर्वमिमांषितां ।

न चाप्यन्यमपध्वंसेत् कदाचित् कोपसंयुतः ॥

प्रहरिष्यन् प्रियं ब्रूयात् प्रहरन्नपि भारत ।

प्रहृत्य च कृपायीत शोचेत च रुदेत च ॥

आश्वासयेच्चापि परं सान्त्वधर्मार्थवृत्तिभिः ।

अथास्य प्रहरेत् काले यदा विचलिते पथि ॥

The Virāṭa and the Udyoga Parvas also say that even an inferior king should not be neglected.¹⁶⁸ A king should be watchful of his foe's weak points and should hide his weaknesses like a tortoise that hides its limbs.¹⁶⁹

According to the Mahābhārata the prosperity of an enemy is a cause of sorrow¹⁷⁰ and, happiness derived from looking upon foes in adversity is greater even than that, caused by the birth of a son or by the acquisition of wealth or kingdom.¹⁷¹ That is why a king should try his best and adopt all means fair and foul for destroying and creating trouble in a hostile kingdom. The treasury of an enemy should be drained and exhausted with the help of righteous or unrighteous means, because treasury is the "root of felicity in heaven and victory on earth. It is in consequence of their

प्रत्युत्थानासनाद्येन सम्प्रदानेन केनचित् ।

प्रतिविश्रब्धघाती स्यात् तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रो निमग्नकः ॥ Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 55-7 and 60. Translation by P. C. Ray.

168. नावज्ञेयो रिपुस्तात । Ibid., Virāṭa, XXIX, 4.

शत्रुः प्रवृद्धो नोपेक्ष्यो दुर्बलोऽपि बलीयसा ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, IX, 22.

169. नास्याच्छिद्रं परः पश्येच्छिद्रेण परमन्वियात् ।

गूहेत् कूर्मं इवांगानि रक्षेद् विवरमात्मनः ॥ Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 8.

दोषात् विवृणुयाच्छत्रोः परपक्षान् विधूनयेत् । Ibid., Śānti, CXX, 11.

नात्मच्छिद्रं रिपुविद्याद् विद्याच्छिद्रं परस्य तु ।

गूहेत् कूर्मं इवांगानि रक्षेद् विवरमात्मनः ॥ Ibid., CXL, 24.

See also Ibid., Śānti, CIII, 23; Āśramavāsika, V, 41.

Cf. नित्यं छिद्रानुसार्यरे ॥ *Manu*, VII, 102.

170. *Mbh.* Āśvamedhika, IX, 6.

171. समस्थो विपमस्थान् हि दुर्हृदो योऽभिवीक्षते ।

जगतीस्थानिवाद्रिस्थः किमतः परमं सुखम् ॥

न पुत्रधनलाभेन न राज्येनापि विन्दति ।

प्रीतिं नृपतिशार्दूल याममित्राघदर्शनात् ॥ Ibid., Vana, CCXXXVII, 18-9.

See also *ibid.*, Āśramavāsika, VII, 4.

व्यसने योजयेच्छत्रम्.....। *Cāṇakyanīti Darpaṇa*, 3, 3.

treasuries that foes enjoy such happiness.”¹⁷² Moreover, one, whose wealth is lost, is left by his friends and relatives. Nobody trusts him and he is censured.¹⁷³ Hence, a king should persuade his enemy to perform sacrifices and divest him by that means of all his possessions.¹⁷⁴ The elephants, horses and men of the enemy should be destroyed with the help of drugs, herbs and plants etc.¹⁷⁵ The population of the inimical states should be given poison.¹⁷⁶ “By slaughtering its population, by tearing up its roads and otherwise injuring them and by burning and pulling down its houses, a king should destroy a hostile kingdom.”¹⁷⁷

The Mahābhārata says that with the help of the policy of *Dāna*, a king should destroy the three, the five and the seven of an enemy.¹⁷⁸ According to Nilakaṇṭha, three is

172. कोशक्षये त्वमित्राणां वशं कौसल्य गच्छति ।

उभयत्र प्रयुक्तस्य धर्मेणाधर्म एव च ॥

फलार्थमूलं व्युच्छिद्येत् तेन नन्दन्ति शत्रवः । *Mbb. Śānti*, CV, 20-21.

Translation by P.C. Ray. See also *Ibid.*, CV, 17; CXXX, 35; Āśramavāsika, VI, 14.

173. स्खलितार्थं पुनस्तात संत्यजन्ति च बान्धवाः ।

अप्यस्मिन् नाश्वसन्ते च जुगुप्सन्ते च तादृशम् ॥ *Ibid.*, Udyoga, CXXXV, 39.

174. याजयेनं विश्वजिता सर्वस्वेन वियुज्य तम् ॥

ततो गच्छसि सिद्धार्थः पीड्यमानं महाजनम् । *Ibid.*, Śānti, CV, 22-3.

175. सिद्धेनौषधयोगेन सर्वशत्रुविनाशिता ।

नागानश्वान्मनुष्यांश्च कृतकैरुपघातयेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, CV, 24.

176. शक्या विपहता कर्तुं ॥ *Ibid.*, CV, 25.

177. वधेन च मनुष्याणां मार्गाणां दूषणेन च ।

आगाराणां विनाशैश्च परराष्ट्रं विनाशयेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, CXL, 61.

cf. *Sūtra*, IV 1117-9, 1186.

178. हन्यादमित्रं दानेन तथा पूर्वापकारिणम् ।

हन्यात् त्रीन् पञ्च सप्तेति परपक्षस्य सर्वशः ॥ *Mbb. Ādi*, CXL, 15.

indicative of three *śaktis*, (strength) viz. *Prabhu* or *Aiśvarya Śakti*, *Mantra Śakti* and *Utsāha Śakti*; five stands for the five constituents of a state, viz. *Amātya*, *Durga*, *Rāṣṭra*, *Kośa* and *Daṇḍa* and seven points to the seven-fold policy, consisting of *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda*, *Daṇḍa*, *Udbandhana*, *Viśaprayoga* and *Agni-prayoga*.¹⁷⁹ Another possible interpretation of these numbers is as follows : three stands for the *Trivarga*, consisting of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*; five indicates the five-fold policy, consisting of *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda*, *Daṇḍa* and *Upekṣā*,¹⁸⁰ or five-fold *Bala* consisting of *Bāhu-bala* (physical strength) *Amātya-bala* (good and able ministers), *Dhana-bala* (wealth), *Abhijāta-bala* (lineage) and *Buddhi-bala* (wisdom)¹⁸¹ referred to in the Epic itself and seven signifies the seven constituents (*aṅgas*) of a state, viz. *Svāmi*, (sovereignty), *Amātya* (ministers), *Janapada* (population and territory), *Durga* or *Pura* (fort or a fortified capital), *kośa* (treasury), *daṇḍa* or *bala* (army) and *mitra* or *Suhṛd* (ally).¹⁸²

179. अमित्रं सहजशत्रुं दायदं दानेन तत्परिचारकान्वशीकृत्य विषाद्युपायैर्हन्त्यात् ।
तथा संप्रति दासभूतमपि पूर्वपकारिणं हन्यादेवेत्युक्तं भवति । अत्रोपायमाह
हन्यादिति । परपक्षस्य क्लृप्तान् ऐश्वर्यमन्त्रोत्साहान् ऐश्वर्यं तदीयदुर्गाद्याक्रमणेन
मन्त्रं चारैः । उत्साहमाप्तद्वारा वा तेजो वधेन । तथा पंचते त्वया यौवराज्या-
द्रभ्रंशनीया इति भावः । तथा पंच 'अमात्यराष्ट्रदुर्गाणि कोशो दंडश्च पंचम
'इति प्रकृतिपंचकहनने शत्रोरैश्वर्यभ्रंशो भवतीत्यर्थः दंडोऽत्र सैन्यम् । 'साम्ना
दानेन भेदेन दंडेनोद्वन्धनेन वा । विषेण वह्निना वापि प्रकृतीः पंच निर्हरेत्'
इत्याह सप्तेति ।

180. सामभेदप्रदानं च ततो दंडश्च पार्थिव ।

उपेक्षा पंचमी चात्र कात्सर्येण समुदाहृता ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LIX, 35.

Cf. साम्नादानेन भेदेन दण्डेनोपेक्षणेन च । Ibid., Vana, CL, 42.

See Supra, f. n. 40 of this Chapter.

181. Ibid., Śānti, XXXVII, 52-5.

182. राजा सप्तैव रक्ष्याणि तानि चैव निबोध मे ।

आत्माऽमात्याश्च कोशाश्च दंडो मित्राणि चैव हि ॥

According to Kṛṣṇa, “an enemy’s abode should be entered through a wrong gate and a friend’s abode through the right one”¹⁸³ i.e. a king should surprisingly create trouble in the hostile kingdom by going there unnoticed. While living there, he should imitate the conduct of a dog (i.e. he should be alert like a dog), of a deer (i.e. he should be always alert and fearful) and of a crow (i.e. he should be very clever) and at the same time, he should behave with apparent friendship towards the foe.¹⁴⁸

तथा जनपदाश्चैव पुरं च कुरुनन्दन ।

एतत् सप्तात्मकं राज्यं परिपालयं प्रयत्नतः ॥

Ibid., Śānti, LXIX, 64-5. See also Ibid., LIX, 51. In the Āśramavāsika Parva, V. 8, state is described as *aṣṭāṅga*, i.e. having eight *aṅgas*, but the eight constituents have not been mentioned.

स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदंडमित्राणि प्रकृतयः । *Arthaśāstra*, VI, 1. p. 257.

स्वाम्यमात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं दुर्गकोशौ सुहृत्तथा ।

सप्त प्रकृतयो हेताः सप्तांगं राज्यमुच्यते ॥ *Manu*, IX, 294.

स्वाम्यमात्यश्च राष्ट्रं च दुर्गः कोषो बलं सुहृत् ।

एतावदुच्यते राज्यं ॥ *Kāmandaka*, I, 17.

स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोषराष्ट्रदुर्गबलानि च ।

सप्तांगमुच्यते राज्यं तत्र मूर्धा नृपः स्मृतः ॥ *Sūkra*, I. 61.

See *Supra*, Chap. IV, pp. 103 ff.

183. अद्वारेण रिपोर्गेहं द्वारेण सुहृदो गृहान् ।

प्रविशन्ति नरा धीरा द्वाराण्येतानि धर्मतः ॥ *Mbh.* Sabhā, XXI, 53.

P.C. Rays’ rendering adopted.

184. रमस्व परमामित्रे विषये प्राज्ञसंमतः ।

भजस्व श्वेतकाकीयैर्मित्रधर्ममनर्थकैः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, CV, 15.

Commenting on this verse Nilakaṇṭha says :

शत्रुसन्धीषे श्वेतकाकीयैः श्वा च एतश्च काकश्च तेषामिमे धर्माः क्रमेण नित्यं जागरूकत्वभयचक्रितत्वपरैरिति ज्ञत्वानि तैः उपायैः मित्रधर्मं भजस्व.....॥

See also *ibid.*, CXL, 21.

A king should never trust his enemy¹⁸⁵ but outwardly he should show as if he trusts him.¹⁸⁶ He should keep his plans secret so that they are known by others only while or after being carried out.¹⁸⁷ In order to vanquish the foe, he should destroy his *mūla* (foundation or source of authority) because in the absence of the *mūla*, the 'partisans and allies of the enemy too can not exist like the branches and twigs of a tree, which cannot exist if the root is cut away.¹⁸⁸

There is no consistency in the Mahābhārata regarding the behaviour to be meted out to an enemy, when he is exhausted or is asking for shelter. At some places it says that a king should increase his fame by giving him (the defeated enemy) shelter, by forgiving him and by treating him as if he were his own son.¹⁸⁹ But at other places it gives a contradictory opinion by instructing him to kill the enemy with every exertion, not to show mercy towards him and

185. Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 62; Śānti, LXXXV, 34; CXXXVIII, 144-5, 193-6; CXXXIX, 44-7; CXL, 14. cf. *Śukra*, IV, 8-9.

186. तस्मादभीतवद् भीतो विश्वस्तो बहु विश्वसन् ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, CXXXVIII, 212

187. मंत्रसंवरणे यत्नः सदा कार्योऽनसूयता ।

आकारमभिरक्षेत चारेणाप्यनुपालितः ॥

नास्यकृत्यानि बुध्येरन् मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ।

आरब्धान्येव पश्येरन् सुपर्यवसितान्यापि ॥ Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 76 and 81.

188. मूलमेवादितश्छिन्द्यात् परपक्षस्य नित्यशः ।

ततः सहायांस्तपक्षान् सर्वांश्च तदनन्तरम् ॥

छिन्नमूले त्वधिष्ठाने सर्वे तज्जीवनो हताः ।

कथं नु शाखा तिष्ठेरन्छिन्नमूले वनस्पतौ ॥ Ibid., CXL, 16-7. See also ibid., Śānti, CXL, 11.

189. अमित्रमपि चेद् दीनं शरणैषिणमागतम् ।

व्यसने योऽनुगृह्णाति स वै पुरुषसत्तम ॥ Ibid., Anuśāsana, LIX, 10.

See also ibid., Śānti, CII, 29-32; Ibid., Āśramavāsika, VI, 15.

never to set him free even if he be speaking pitiable words.¹⁹⁰

A similar inconsistency is to be found in connection with the treatment towards an enemy in general. On the one hand, the Mahābhārata says that an enemy should not be deceived by unfair means, nor should he be wounded mortally, for, if struck thus, his very life may pass away.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, it advises a king to utter sweet words while attacking and thereafter to show mercy towards him and to shed (crocodile) tears to express sorrow.¹⁹² Thus the Mahābhārata allows a king to adopt a dual policy in the conduct of foreign affairs.

An inferior monarch has been advised by the Mahābhārata not to oppose a superior enemy.¹⁹³ One, having hostility with a powerful king cannot live peacefully because the latter attacks the former like a *Syena* (a falcon) that attacks

190. दया न तस्मिन् कर्तव्या शरणागत इत्युत । Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 14.

अमित्रो न विमोक्तव्यः कृपणं बद्ध्वापि ब्रुवन् । Ibid., CXL, 22.

सर्वेः पराक्रमैर्वीर वध्यः शत्रुरमित्रहन् । Ibid., Vana, XXII, 23.

तत् त्वया न क्षमा कार्या शत्रून् प्रति कथंचन ।

तेजसैव हि ते शक्या निहन्तुं नात्र संशयः ॥ Ibid., XXVII, 39.

भार्याभिहर्ता वैरी यो यश्च राजहरो रिपुः ।

याचमानोऽपि संग्रामे न मोक्तव्यः कथंचन ॥ Ibid., CCLXXI, 46.

अमित्रं नैव मुचेत् वदन्तं करुणान्यपि ।

दुःखं तत्र न कर्तव्यं हन्यात् पूर्वापकारिणम् ॥ Ibid., CXL, 52.

Vide Infra, Chap. IX, Ethics of War-Behaviour towards an exhausted enemy, p. 275 and Behaviour Towards the Captives of War, p. 283.

191. नामित्रो विनिकर्तव्यो नातिच्छेयः कथंचन ।

जीवितं ह्यप्यतिच्छिन्नः संत्यजेच्च कदाचन ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XCVI, 15.

192. प्रहरिष्यन् प्रियं ब्रूयात् प्रहरन्नपि भारत ।

प्रहृत्य च कृष्यायैत शोचन्नैव रुदन्नैव ॥ Ibid., CII, 34. cf. Ādi, CXL, 56.

193. बलवद्भिर्मारुदं न कार्यमेतत् त्वयानघ । Ibid., Vana, XXXVII, 32.

the weaker birds.¹⁹⁴ Never should a war be waged against a stronger enemy.¹⁹⁵ One should yield to him, because one, who does not do so, is destroyed.¹⁹⁶ That is why Indra did not attack Nahuṣa, who had become very powerful,¹⁹⁷ whereas the banyan tree that opposed Vāyu was ruined.¹⁹⁸ A powerful adversary can be killed by the joint efforts of weak kings like the bees, making collective effort to take out honey.¹⁹⁹ An inferior king should behave like a cane towards a powerful king.²⁰⁰ In this connection, an interesting legend, occurring in the Sānti Parva attracts our attention. It is said therein that once the ocean asked the rivers why they uprooted very big trees and did no harm to the cane trees. In reply the rivers told that the big trees were uprooted because they did not yield to the rivers, whereas the cane trees bent down in order to show courtesy and respect, and hence, they were not uprooted.²⁰¹

To take a resume, the Mahābhārata favours the annihilation of an enemy at one place and the sparing of his life at another. The defeat of the enemy by any means whatsoever whether noble or ignoble, moral or immoral, has been

194. अपकृत्य बलस्थस्य दूरस्थोऽस्मीति नाश्वसेत् ।

श्वेनाभिपतनैरेते निपतन्ति प्रमाद्यतः ॥ Ibid., Sānti, XCIII, 20.

195. अवलानभियुञ्जीत न तु ये बलवत्तराः ॥ Ibid., XCIII, 21. See also Ibid., CXIII, 13; CLVII, 9-11; Ibid., Āśramavāsika, VI, 19-20; Śukra, IV, 1076-8.

196. यो हि शत्रोर्विवृद्धस्य प्रभोर्बन्धविनाशने ।

पूर्वं न सहते वेगं क्षिप्रमेव विनश्यति ॥ Mbb. Sānti, CXIII, 12.

197. Ibid., Udyoga, XV, 1-2.

198. For this legend vide Ibid., Sānti, Chaps. CLIV-CLVII.

199. Ibid., Vana, XXXIII, 70.

200. संश्रयेद् वैतसीं वृत्ति एतत् प्रज्ञानलक्षणम् । Ibid., Sānti, CXIII, 14.

तिष्ठेथा राजशार्दूल वैतसीं वृत्तिमास्थितः ॥ Ibid., Āśramavāsika, VI, 18.

201. Vide ibid., Sānti, CXIII.

emphasised at several places in the Mahābhārata. The place of *Dharma* in the treatment towards the enemy varies in inverse ratio to its place in the internal government of a state. In such matters morality is thrown to winds. *Dharma* is not allowed to place obstacles in fulfilling the highest ideal for the *Kṣatriyas*, which according to the Māhābhārata is the conquest of the whole earth and the establishment of a glorious empire. "Reason of state became the one guiding overmastering principle and justified the extreme of fraud and treachery."²⁰² This reminds us of Diderot, who said that there are "circumstances under which it is right for a prince to be a scoundrel"²⁰³ and of Machiavelli, who says that a king should try to obtain power and to add to it by all means possible without caring for the morality or immorality of the means. According to him, the end justifies the means.²⁰⁴ On the basis of those passages of the Śānti Parva,²⁰⁵ which make a king's foreign policy free from the ethical standards, N.N. Ghosh says, "It will indeed be no exaggeration to say that from the Śānti Parva alone it may be possible to compile a text-book for rulers, twice as substantial as Machiavelli's Prince and many times more full of cynical wisdom."²⁰⁶

202. Beni Prasad : *The State in Ancient India*, p. 98.

203. Beni Prasad : *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*, p. 61.

204. See Supra, pp. 9-10.

205. *Mbb.* Śānti, LXIX, 19-20; XCIV, 6; XCV, 2-4, 13-23; XCVI, 20; XCVII, 4-9; CII, 34; CIII, 23, 10-11, 18-20, 36-9; CXXXVIII, 195; CXL, 54-56, 62. Teste N. N. Ghosh : "The Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata : A sociological study" *Sri Asutosh Mukherjee, Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Pt. II, pp. 387-8.

206. N. N. Ghosh : "The Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata : A sociological study" *Sri Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Pt. II, p. 388.

CHAPTER VIII
ETHICS OF WAR—I
KINDS OF FIGHTING.

Introduction : War is a method of the settlement of disputes and the satisfaction of rival interests. States, having inimical relations and conflicting interests have recourse to it and it is accompanied by force.

Evolution : War has been in vogue since times immemorial, although its standard has varied. It is motivated, inspired and predominated by the lower feelings like anger, greed, violence and revenge. Ancient Indian thinkers have felt that it should be definitely humanised, if not completely eradicated. Consequently, ethical norms regarding it have been laid down and a code of fighting framed to guide the conduct of the opposite parties while in action.

Social Background : Society, as depicted in the Mahābhārata, was divided into four *Varṇas*, viz. *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra*. The *Kṣatriyas* occupied an important place. It is evident from the fact that all the leading characters of the Epic belong to this class (*varṇa*). Being regarded as the easiest and the best way to heaven,¹ fighting

1. न युद्धधर्माच्छ्रेयान् हि पन्थाः स्वर्गस्य कौरवाः ॥ *Mbh. Śālya*, III, 57.

यदृच्छयैतत् सम्प्राप्तं स्वर्गद्वारमपावृतम् ।

मुखिनः क्षत्रियाः कर्णं लभन्ते युद्धमीदृशम् ॥ *Ibid.*, *Kaṇṇa*, LVII, 2.

cf. *Ibid.*, *Bhīṣma*, XXVI, 32.

has been unanimously prescribed as one of the most important duties of the *Kṣatriyas* in the Mahābhārata.² The Arthaśāstra of Kāuṭilya,³ the Manu Smṛti,⁴ the Śukra Nītisāra,⁵ and the Agni Purāṇa⁶ express similar views. This is corroborated by the derivation of the word *Kṣatriya* itself. The Mahābhārata explains it as *Kṣatāt trāyate iti Kṣatriyaḥ*,⁷ i.e. one, who protects from wounds is known as a *Kṣatriya*. Similar explanation has been given by Kālidāsa also.⁸ The Mahābhārata goes to the extent of saying that the *Kṣatriyas* were created for fighting.⁹ According to the *Guna* theory of the *Varṇas*, propounded by the Bhagavadgītā, *Kṣatriyas* were fit for this work, keeping in view their natural inclina-

2. क्षत्रियस्य तु धर्मोऽयं यद् युद्धं भृगुनन्दन । Ibid., Udyoga, CLXXXV, 11.
किं नु युद्धात् परं लाभं क्षत्रियो बहु मन्यते । Ibid., CLX, 51.
भैक्ष्यचर्या न विहिता न च विट्शूद्रजीविका ।
क्षत्रियस्य विशेषेण धर्मस्तु बलमौरसम् ॥ Ibid., Vana, XXXIII, 51.
न युद्धधर्माच्छ्रेयान् वै पन्था राजेन्द्र विद्यते । Ibid., Śālyā, IV, 8.
न युद्धादधिकं किञ्चित् क्षत्रियस्येह विद्यते ॥ Ibid., Strī, II, 18.
The same *śloka* occurs in *ibid.*, IX, 21. See also, Udyoga, LXXIII, 3-5; LXXXV, 23; Śālyā, III, 57.
3. *Arthaśāstra*, Translated by R. Shamasastri (5th Ed. 1956), p. 6.
4. विप्राणां ज्ञानतो ज्यैष्ठ्यं क्षत्रियाणां तु वीर्यतः ।
वैश्यानां धान्यधनतः शूद्राणामेव जन्मतः ॥ II, 155.
5. IV, 1133-4.
6. 232, 52-6. Teste P. Jagannadha Swami : *Warfare in Ancient India*, p. 3.
7. क्षतान्नस्त्रायते सर्वानित्येवं क्षत्रियोऽभवत् । *Mbh.* Drona, LXIX, 2.
क्षत्रवाता क्षताज्जीवन् क्षन्ता स्त्रीष्वपि साधुषु ।
क्षत्रियः क्षितिमाप्नोति क्षिप्रं धर्मं यशः स्त्रियः ॥ Ibid., CLXVII, 4.
क्षताद् यो वै त्रायतीति स तस्मात् क्षत्रियः स्मृतः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XXIX, 138.
ब्राह्मणानां क्षतत्राणात्ततः क्षत्रिय उच्यते । Ibid., LIX, 126.
8. क्षतात् किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रुढः । *Raghuvamśa*, II, 53.
9. युद्धाय क्षत्रियः सृष्टः संजयेह जयाय च । *Mbh.* Udyoga, CXXXV, 13.

tion (*svabhāva*).¹⁰ They formed the military class although in exceptional cases and in times of distress, the members of the other *Varṇas* also, could take up arms, as their *āpad-dharma*.¹¹ Most probably, the recruits from the other *Varṇas* generally reverted to their original professions, after the calamity was over. Predominance of the *Kṣatriyas* in the political life and emphasis on *Svadharmā* (i.e. the specific duties prescribed for the different *Varṇas*), resulted in frequent wars. Emphasising *Svadharmā*, Kṛṣṇa told Arjuna to fight, when the latter, seeing his kith and kin in the battle-field, became despondent and resolved not to fight.¹² By observing *Svadharmā*, one got freedom from the bondage of *saṁsāra*. Ancient Indians looked upon war as a serious business and so they established a close relationship between war and *Dharma*. As far as possible, a *Kṣatriya* was to participate in a righteous war, because victory favours righteousness i.e. *Dharma*.¹³ On the occasion of the battle between gods (*devas*) and demons (*asuras*), Pitāmaha told Mahendra and other gods that those, desirous of victory, did not attain it so much by power and valour as with the help of *Dharma*.¹⁴

10. शौर्यं तेजो धृतिर्दक्षिणं युद्धे चाप्यपलायनम् ।

दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षात्रकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥ Ibid., Bhīṣma, XLII, 43.

11. Infra, Āpaddharma, pp. 334 ff.

12. श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वधर्मो निघनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥ Mbb. Bhīṣma, XXVII, 35.

Cf. वरं स्वधर्मो विगुणो न पारक्यः स्वनुष्ठितः ।

परधर्मेण जीवन् हि सद्यः पतति जातितः ॥ Manu, X, 97.

13. यतो धर्मस्ततो जयः । occurs in Mbb. Bhīṣma, II, 14; LXV, 18; LXVI, 35; Śalya, LXIII 62; Strī, XIV, 9, 12; XVII, 7.

14. Ibid., Bhīṣma, XXI, 11. In the Ādi Parva, the superiority of *Bala* (strength) over *Dharma* has been established by saying that the latter rests on the former. वीर्यश्रेष्ठाश्च राजानो बलं धर्मोऽनुवर्तते । Ibid., Ādi, CXXXVI, 19.

Kinds of fighting : The Ancient Indian military science recognizes two main kinds of fighting, (i) the righteous (*Dharma Yuddha*) and (ii) the unrighteous (*Adharma Yuddha*). The first kind was based on the principle that war should be fought for a righteous cause with manliness and generous behaviour towards the enemy and that the enemy should be given equal opportunity to fight. It was not to be fought recklessly or ruthlessly, but in accordance with an ethical code. In the *Dharma Yuddha*, morality and valour (*nīti* and *śaurya*), both were given due place. In the *Adharma Yuddha*, the only aim was to fight and attain victory by hook or crook. The use of deceit, strictly prohibited in the former, was permissible and occupied an important place in the latter.

There are three bases of classifying fighting :

Motives : A war is fought either for the establishment of order or *Dharma* or out of greed or rapacity.

War-weapons : On the basis of the war-weapons used, fighting has been divided into *Daivika*, *Āsura* and *Mānuṣa* in the *Śukra Nītisāra*. *Daivika* war is fought with the help of *mantras* (charms and spells), *Āsura* with the help of mechanical instruments and *Mānuṣa*, with the help of organized forces.¹⁵

Manner of fighting : Kauṭilya has divided warfare into *Prakāśa* (open), *Kūṭa* (treacherous) and *Tūṣṇī* (silent).¹⁶ *Prakāśa Yuddha* is fought in broad day-light and at a fixed place. *Kūṭa Yuddha* consists in pretending to keep up good relations with the enemy and in taking him by surprise,

15. मंत्रास्त्रैः दैविकं युद्धं नालाद्यस्त्रैः तथाऽसुरम् ।

शस्त्रबाहुसमुत्थंतु मानवं युद्धमीरितम् ॥ *Śukra*, IV, 1053-4.

For details see *ibid.*, IV, 1158 ff.

16. *Arthaśāstra*, (Ed. Shamsastry, 1909), 6, 112., p. 281.

when he is unprepared. In the *Tūṣṇī Yuddha*, an attempt is made to win the enemy by diplomatic means and by spreading dissatisfaction in his army. The word *Tūṣṇī* consists of 'Tuṣ', meaning "to satisfy" and 'Nīm', meaning "for a long time". Taken together it means, "to satisfy for a long time",¹⁷ i.e. to keep the enemy satisfied by pleasing him outwardly and cherishing hostile feelings towards him secretly.

In connection with the *Tūṣṇī Yuddha* Kauṭilya describes a peculiar device, '*damśa-yoga*', to destroy the army of the enemy. According to this device a specially prepared poisonous arrow is used to attack the adversary. The poison spreads throughout the body of the person, injured by this arrow and he bites ten persons of his own side, causing their bodies also to be infected by poison. Every person, infected in this way, bites ten persons. Consequently the army is destroyed. In another experiment of *damśa-yoga*, water is poisoned. As a result of this, fishes, living therein, become poisonous. Persons, bitten by such fishes or those, who either drink or even touch this water, are infected by poison.¹⁸

Thus, *Tūṣṇī Yuddha* gives no place to ethical considerations.

17. Vajpai : *Hindu Rājyaśāstra*, p. 297.

18. शाल्मली विदारीधान्यसिद्धोमूलवत्सनाभसंयुक्तश्चुचुन्दरीशोणितप्रलेपेन ।
दिग्धो बाणो यं विध्यति स विद्धोऽन्यान्दशपुरुषान्दशति ॥
ते दष्टाश्चान्यान्दशन्ति पुरुषान् ॥ भल्लातकयातुधानापामार्गवाणानां
पुष्पैरेलकाक्षिगुग्गुलुहालानां च कषायं वस्तनरशोणितयुक्तं दंशयोगः ॥
ततो धर्वरणिको योगः सक्तुपिण्याकाभ्यामुदके प्रणीतो धनुः शतायाममुद-
कादयं दूषयति ॥ मत्स्यपरम्परा ह्येतेन दष्टाभिसृष्टा वा विषीभवन्ति ॥
यश्चेतदुदकं पिबति स्पृशति वा ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, BK. XIV, Chap. I, 31-6.
Damśayoga, however, seems to be more theoretical.

Another classification of fighting, according to Kauṭilya¹⁹ and Somadeva Sūri²⁰ is in *Dharma vijaya* (righteous conquest), *Āsura vijaya* (demonial conquest) and *Lobha vijaya* (greedy conquest). *Dharma vijayī* (the just conqueror) is satisfied only if the king invaded, accepts his authority, becomes his feudatory and agrees to pay him tributes and regular taxes. *Lobha vijayī* (a greedy victor) is one, who wages war with the aim of gaining wealth and land i.e. movable and immovable property of the enemy. Thus, covetousness is the motive behind this type of warfare. But money alone is not enough to satisfy an *Āsura vijayī* (a demonial conqueror), who is satisfied only after killing his enemy.

The ancient Indian thinkers unanimously lay down that the defeated king should neither be deprived of his life, nor dethroned. He should be merely forced to accept the suzerainty of the conqueror and if he agrees to do so, he should be allowed to rule as usual. Hence, *Dharma vijaya* would come under the category of righteous warfare and *Āsura vijaya* and *Lobha vijaya*, under the category of unrighteous warfare. Though Kauṭilya mentions these types of warfare, yet he does not permit unrighteous warfare

19. त्रयोऽभियोक्तारो धर्मासुरलोभविजयिन इति । तेषामभ्यवपत्त्या धर्मविजयी तुष्यति, तमभ्यवपद्येत ॥ परेषामपि भयात् भूमिद्रव्यहरणेन लोभविजयी तुष्यति, तमर्थेनाभ्यवपद्येत ॥ भूमिद्रव्यपुत्रदारप्राणहरणेन असुरविजयी तं भूमिद्रव्याभ्युपगृह्णा ग्राह्यः प्रतिकुर्वीत ॥ *Arthaśāstra* (Ed. Shamasastri. 1919), 12. I, 162.

20. स धर्मविजयी राजा विधेयमात्रेणैव संतुष्टः प्राणार्थमिमानेषु न व्यभिचरति । स लोभविजयी राजा यो द्रव्येण कृतप्रीतिः प्राणमिमानेषु न चरति । सोऽसुरविजयी यो प्राणार्थमानोपयातेन महीममिलपति ॥ *Nītivākyaṃṛta*, XXX, 70-72.

in all cases. He clearly says that recourse to it should be taken only by weak kings against the powerful.²¹ One should be acquainted with the modes of both the kinds of fighting and should adopt the unrighteous one, only if exigency dictates such a course.

The Mahābhārata also enumerates three types of conquests, viz. *Dharma vijaya*, *Artha vijaya* and *Āsura vijaya*.²² *Artha vijaya* of the Mahābhārata is the same as the *Lobha vijaya* of the Arthaśāstra because both aim at the attainment of wealth. The Mahābhārata describes the means and methods of righteous as well as unrighteous fighting. At several places, it recommends the righteous one and condemns the unrighteous one.

Other kinds of fighting are *Gadā Yuddha*²³ (fight with a club), *Khadga Yuddha*²⁴ (fight with a sword), *Prastara Yuddha*²⁵ (fight with the pieces of stones), *Malla Yuddha*²⁶ (wrestling), *Dvanda Yuddha*²⁷ (duel encounter) and *Dvaira-*

21. बलविशिष्टः कृतोपजापः प्रतिविहितकर्तुस्सर्वभूम्यां प्रकाशयुद्धमुपेयात् विपर्यये शकटयुद्धम् ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, (Ed. Shamasastri, 1919), 10,2, 150-2, p. 366.

22. विजयो धर्मयुक्तश्च तथार्थविजयश्च ह ।
आसुरश्चैव विजयस्तथा कात्स्येन वर्णितः ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti, LIX, 38-9.

Cf. जिगीषुर्वर्मविजयी तथा लोकं वशं नयेत् ।
यः स्यादधर्मविजयी तस्मादुद्विजते जनः ॥

प्राप्यापि वसुधां कृत्स्नां न चिरं श्रियमश्नुते ॥ *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, II, 145, 21.

23. *Mbh.* Bhīṣma, LXXVI, 4.

24. *Ibid.*, LXXVI, 5-6.

25. The Pāṇḍavas were attacked by the hill-tribes, expert in the *Prastara Yuddha*. *Ibid.*, Droṇa, CXXI.

26. *Ibid.*, Sabhā, XXIII, 4-11.

27. *Ibid.*, Droṇa, CXLII, 42-6.

See also f. n. Nos. 1-7 on p. 3503 of the G.P. Ed. of *Mbh.*

*tha Yuddha*²⁸. These would come under the category of *Dharma Yuddha*, if fought fairly and in accordance with the prescribed code of fighting and under the category of *Adharma Yuddha* if fought contrarily. The Mahābhārata refers to *Rātri Yuddha*²⁹ (night fight) also, which is evidently a negation of the code of fighting which says that fighting should be stopped after sun-set to be resumed in the morning.

Dharma Yuddha or Righteous Fighting :

Dharma Yuddha implies the war fought openly and in accordance with the prescribed code of fighting. Its aim is to achieve victory by fair means. The Mahābhārata gives preference to fair fighting and prescribes it as an important duty of a king.³⁰ He should not aspire for victory by trickery (*Māyā*) and other unfair means.³¹ In the Udyoga Parva, Balarāma tells Duryodhana to fight fairly.³² The Mahābhārata condemns the unrighteous one although the methods of treacherous fighting also have been given. The Śalya Parva asks, "who will praise one who disregards rules and who will be happy by gaining victory unrighteously?"³³ A king should not desire to conquer the earth by unfair means,³⁴ because the unrighteous conquest is temporary, uncertain and unstable and it does not lead to heaven.

28. Ibid., Udyoga, CXLI, 16, 18; Ādi, II, 277.

29. Ibid., Droṇa, CLIII.

30. तस्माद् धर्मेण विजयं कोशं लिप्सेत भूमिपः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XCV, 22.

31. सर्वविद्यातिरेकेण जयमिच्छेन्महीपतिः ।

न मायया न दम्भेन य इच्छेद् भूतिमात्मनः ॥ Ibid., XCVI, 24.

32. गच्छ युध्यस्व धर्मेण क्षात्रेण पुरुषर्षभ ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, VII, 30.

33. को वा समयमेतारं बुधः सम्मन्तुमर्हसि ।

अधर्मेण जयं लब्ध्वा को नु हृष्येत पण्डितः ॥ LXIV, 14.

34. नाधर्मेण मृद्वा जेतुं लिप्सेत जगतीपतिः ।

अधर्मविजयं लब्ध्वा को नु मन्येत भूमिपः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XCVI, 1.

Moreover, such an achievement is responsible for the downfall of the king and the kingdom both.³⁵ A *Kṣatriya* should not neglect *Dharma* and his own duties (*svadharma*).³⁶ Those *Kṣatriyas*, who aspire victory by fair means, overcome all the difficulties.³⁷ Therefore, Vidura says to Yudhiṣṭhira that one should not feel sorry, if defeated unrighteously.³⁸

Two traditions about *Dharma vijaya*—the Brahmanical and the Buddhist, occur in ancient Indian literature and epigraphy. The Brahmanical tradition can be further divided into two types, viz. (1) that, which believes that the victory attained by righteous means and in accordance with the prescribed code of fighting is *Dharma vijaya* and (2) that according to which *Dharmavijaya* means mere acknowledgement of the overlordship of the victorious authority by the defeated power, i.e., the victorious king is satisfied merely by compelling the defeated adversary to become his feudatory and pay him tributes. The latter view has been vindicated by Kauṭilya,³⁹ Kālidāsa⁴⁰ and Somadeva Sūri.⁴¹ The word *Dharma vijaya* occurs in the Kanakhera inscription of

35. अवर्मयुक्तो विजयो ह्यध्रुवोऽस्वर्ग्य एव च ।
सादयत्येव राजानं महीं च भरतर्षभ ॥ Ibid., XCVI, 2.

36. स त्वं धर्ममपेक्षस्व हित्वा लोभमसाम्प्रतम् ।
न च कामान्न च द्रोहात् स्वधर्मं हातुमर्हसि ॥ Ibid., CVI, 17.

37. आहूवे च ये शूराः त्यक्त्वा मरणजं भयम् ।
धर्मेण जयमिच्छन्ति दुर्गाण्यतितरन्ति ते ॥ Ibid., CX, 10.

38. युधिष्ठिर विजानीहि ममेदं भरतर्षभ ।
नाधर्मेण जितः कश्चिद् व्यथते वै पराजये ॥ Ibid., Sabhā, LXXVIII, 9.

39. *Arthaśāstra* (Ed. Shamasastri 1919). 12, I, 162.

40. गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 43.

41. *Nītirākyaṃṛta*, XXX, 70-72.

Śrīdharavarmā,⁴² and in the Cammaka inscription of Pravara-sena II also.⁴³

The conception of *Dharma vijaya*, as preserved in the Buddhist tradition is altogether different from that of the Brahmanical tradition. According to the former, *Dharma vijaya* is the victory, won by righteousness (*dharma*) and truthfulness (*satya*) and without war-weapons, force or coercion.⁴⁴ The great Mauryan emperor, Aśoka, also refers to *Dharma vijaya* of the Buddhist conception. In one of his Rock Edicts he asks his sons and grandsons to take recourse to *Dharma vijaya* i.e. to avoid *Adharma vijaya*, which has been condemned by him.⁴⁵

It is noteworthy in this connection, that the Buddhist tradition strictly prohibits the employment of war-weapons in the righteous fighting, which is prescribed as a means in righteous fighting by the Brahmanical tradition, although the Mahābhārata condemns the victory, achieved by taking

42. धर्मविजयिना शकमन्दपुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन श्रीधरवर्मणा...कल्याणाभ्युदयवृद्धचर्यमक्षयस्वर्गावाप्तिहेतोर्द्धर्मयशो (s) त्थं धर्मासि सम्बुद्धया ।

Kanakhera Inscription of Śrīdharavarmā, lines 2-3 in D.C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, p. 181.

43. माहामात्याधिमतत्त्व पात्रागत भक्तीत्वं धर्मविजयीत्वं मनोर्नैर्माल्यादि गुणैस्समुपेतस्य—Cammaka Inscription of Pravarasena II, lines 10-11 in D.C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, p. 420.

44. राजा होति चक्रवर्त्ती धम्मिको धम्मराजा चातुरन्तो विजितावी जनपदत्थावरियपातो सत्तरत्नसमन्नागतो । सो इमं पठवीं सागरपर्यन्तां अदण्डेन असत्थेन धम्मेन अभिविजयी अज्झहावसति । *Dīgha Nikāya* (Ed. J. Kashyap, Nalanda, 1958), *Lakkhana Suttānta*, p. 110.

45. अयि च मुखमतविजये देवनं प्रिय (स)यो ध्रम-विजयो ।...यो (स) लब्धे एतकेन (भोति) प्रिति ध्रम-विजयस्यपि (।) लहुक तु खो स प्रीति (।) परत्रि (क) मेव महफल मे ति देवनंप्रियो (।) एतये च अटये अयि ध्रमदिपि निपि (स्त) । किति पुत्र प्रपौत्र मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेत विअं मजिपु स्य (कस्मि) यो विज (ये)

recourse to war as the worst.⁴⁶ On this criterion, the *Dharma-Yuddha* or *Dharma-vijaya* of the Brahmanical tradition is not *Dharma-vijaya* according to the Buddhist canons.

Adharma Yuddha or Unrighteous Fighting :

The *Place of Deceit in Fighting* : In the unrighteous fighting (*adharma yuddha*) the sole aim is to attain victory irrespective of the means. In this, a king is allowed to employ such methods as would certainly bring success to him. He is not to be guided by a military code. In the righteous fighting, the idea of fairness is given great importance but in this type, such considerations have no place at all. Moreover, deceitful, treacherous and illusory methods occupy an important place in the unrighteous warfare. In this type, the king who decides on war, should attempt to gain advantage for himself in every respect and should deprive his enemy of all the facilities, the main aim being to weaken the foe.

The Mahābhārata generally prescribes the righteous warfare, although it gives the methods of strategic warfare also in equal details. In the Ādi Parva, we find a very important discourse on this subject. Due to the feelings of jealousy towards the Pāṇḍavas, Dhṛtarāṣṭra was much worried to see them prosperous and flourishing. He called his clever minister, Kaṇika and asked him about the behaviour to be meted out to an enemy. Kaṇika replied, "The King should always be prepared to strike. Like a tortoise that conceals its limbs well, the king should conceal his weak-

क्षांति च लहृदण्डत च रोचेतु तं च यो विजयं म तु । यो ध्रमविजयो । सो हिदलो-
किको परलोकिको । Rock Edict XIII, lines 8, 11-2. Vide Sircar :
Select Inscriptions, BK. I, no. 18, pp.35-40. Hultzsch : *Corpus*
Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, p. 66 and Bühler : *Epigraphia Indica*,
Vol. II, pp. 447-72.

46. जघन्य एष विजयो यो युद्धेन विशाम्पते ॥ *Mbh.* Bhīṣma, III, 81.

nesses and should be very careful to keep an eye over the weaknesses and faults of his enemy. A strong foe should be killed, while in distress. Even a weak enemy should not be overlooked, because of the possibility of his proving to be troublesome sometime, like a spark, that can consume even a big forest, if neglected. The king should behave strategically with his foe. He should pretend to be blind or deaf if exigency dictates such a course. He should behave like a hunter, who pretends to sleep but is always alert to catch the deer, moving about confidently. Mercy should never be shown towards an enemy even if he be a suppliant. The opponent should be slain by all means. First of all, the enemy should be uprooted and thereafter his allies and partisans, because if the root is cut away, branches and twigs of a tree can never exist as before. He should dress himself like an ascetic, by performing sacrifices, wearing tawny (reddish, *Kāṣāyaṇa*) robes, bearing long hairs (*jaṭā*) and deer-skin. He should capture the enemy by surprise like a wolf. If necessary, he should adopt a completely submissive attitude towards the enemy and should even carry the foe on his shoulders till he finds an opportunity to destroy him, like an earthen jar, broken into pieces with a piece of stone. Mercy should never be shown towards him. The enemy should be destroyed with the help of all the four means. viz. *Sāma* (reconciliation), *Dāna* (making gifts), *Bheda* (dissension) and *Danda* (war)."⁴⁷ This view of Kaṇika is in complete contradiction with the basic principles of the righteous fighting.

- 47 नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यान्नित्यं विवृतपौरुषः ।
 अच्छिद्रश्चिच्छद्रदर्शी स्यात् परेषां विवरातुगः ॥
 नित्यमुद्यतदण्डाद्धि भृशमुद्विजते जनः ।
 तस्मात् सर्वाणि कार्याणि दण्डेनैव विधारयेत् ॥
 नास्यच्छिद्रं परः पश्येच्छिद्रेण परमन्वियात् ।
 गूहेत् कूर्मं इवांगानि रक्षेद् विवरमात्मनः ॥

Being questioned by Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīṣma refers to the conversation, once held between Śatruñjaya, the king of Sauvira

ना सम्यक्कृतकारी स्यादुपक्रम्य कदाचन ।
 कण्टको ह्यपि दुश्चिच्छन्न आस्रावं जनयेच्चिरम् ॥
 वधमेव प्रशंसन्ति शत्रूणामपकारिणाम् ।
 सुविदीर्णं सुविक्रान्तं सुयुद्धं सुपलायितम् ॥
 आपद्यापदि काले च कुर्वीत न विचारयेत् ।
 नावज्ञेयो रिपुस्तात दुर्बलोऽपि कथंचन ॥
 अल्पोऽप्यग्निर्वनं कृत्स्नं दहत्याश्रयसंश्रयात् ।
 अन्धः स्यादन्धवेलायां वाधिर्यमपि चाश्रयेत् ॥
 कुर्यात् तृणमयं चापं शयीत् मृगशायिकाम् ।
 सान्त्वादिभिरुपायैस्तु हन्याच्छत्रुं वशेस्थितम् ॥
 दया न तस्मिन् कर्तव्या शरणागत इत्युत ।
 निरुद्विग्नो हि भवति न हताज्जायते भयम् ॥
 हन्यादमित्रं दानेन तथा पूर्वापकारिणम् ।
 हन्यात् त्रीन् पञ्च सप्तेति परपक्षस्य सर्वशः ॥
 मूलमेवादिताश्छिन्द्यात् परपक्षस्य नित्यशः ।
 ततः सहायांस्तत्पक्षान् सर्वाश्च तदनन्तरम् ॥
 छिन्नमूले ह्यधिष्ठाने सर्वे तज्जीविनो हताः ।
 कथं न शाखास्तिष्ठेरन् छिन्नमूले वनस्पतौ ॥
 एकाग्रः स्यादविवृतो नित्यं विवरदर्शकः ।
 राजन् नित्यं सपत्नेषु नित्योद्विग्नः समाचरेत् ॥
 अन्याधानेन यज्ञेन काषायेण जटाजिनैः ।
 लोकान् विश्वसयित्वेव ततो लुम्पेद् यथा वृकः ॥
 अंकुशं शौचमित्याहुरर्थानामुपधारणे ।
 आनाम्य फलितां शाखां पक्वं पक्वं प्रशातयेत् ॥
 फलार्थोऽयं समारम्भो लोके पुंसां विपश्चिताम् ।
 वहेदमित्रं स्कन्धेन यावत् कालस्य पर्ययः ॥
 ततः प्रत्यागते काले भिन्द्याद् घटमिवाश्मनि ।
 अमित्रो न विमोक्तव्यः कृपणं बह्वपि ब्रुवन् ॥
 कृपा न तस्मिन् कर्तव्या हन्यादेवापकारिणम् ।
 हन्यादमित्रं सान्त्वेन तथा दानेन वा पुनः ।
 तथैव भेददण्डाभ्यां सर्वोपायैः प्रशातयेत् ॥ Ibid., Ādi, CXL, 6-24.

and Kaṇika Bhāradvāja. Therein the views ascribed to Kaṇika are identical with those of the Ādi Parva, given above. But Bhīṣma clearly says that this course is to be adopted only in times of distress⁴⁸ as *Āpaddharma* whereas in the Ādi Parva, no particular circumstances as such, have been mentioned.

At another place in the Śānti Parva, Bhīṣma narrates a dialogue between Indra and Br̥haspati about the behaviour towards an enemy. Indra said to Br̥haspati, "Kindly tell me the way I can destroy my enemies and retain prosperity." Br̥haspati replied, "One should never aspire victory by means of wrangling. A king, desirous of vanquishing his foes, should not exhibit the feelings of wrath, fear or joy. He should keep such feelings completely concealed and outwardly he should pose as if he were a reliable person. He should even serve his enemy and speak sweet words towards him. Like a hunter, who catches birds surprisingly, the king should at once attack his enemies and vanquish them, without giving them any notice whatsoever. He should kill the enemy by pretending himself to be trustworthy and his well-wisher. An enemy should never be neglected. With the help of spies and faithful persons, he should create dissension in the forces of his enemy. He should corrupt the army of the foe by bribing and giving them some medicines (*auṣadha*) to this effect. He should cherish towards the enemy, hostile feelings secretly and friendship outwardly and should wait for the proper opportunity to overthrow him. He should never miss a chance of murdering the enemy, because such

48. Bhīṣma said to Yudhiṣṭhira :

अत्र ते वर्तयिष्यामि नीतिमापत्सु भारत ।

उत्सृज्यापि घृणां काले यथा वर्तेत भूमिपः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, CXL, 2. For details, see ibid., CXL, 3, 7-71.

opportunities do not come very often. But he should never displease the adversary when the circumstances are not favourable. Shunning away mildness, severe punishment, lethargy and carelessness, he should counteract the deceitful contrivances of the enemies. First he should take recourse to the policy of creating dissension and then only to war (*danda*). He should bow down before a powerful foe. He should discover the device of the death of his enemy, when the latter be unprepared for it.”⁴⁹

Thus, unrighteous fighting sanctions trickery and fraudulent means. Even lord Kṛṣṇa permits and prescribes the use of trickery in war, in connection with the murder of Duryodhana. On the eighteenth day of the War of Kurukṣetra, absolutely helpless Duryodhana flew away from the battle-field. Desirous of taking some rest, he entered a lake solidifying the water thereof. Kṛṣṇa strongly advised Yudhiṣṭhira to pay him (Duryodhana) in the same coin by killing him⁵⁰. To justify this, he cited several examples, wherein the opponent was killed by such means. He told Yudhiṣṭhira that Indra took recourse to such means for murdering the demons. Bali was bound with the help of unfair means. Hiranyākṣa, Hiranyakaśipu and Vṛtra also were slain with the aid of such acts and means. Rāma killed his adversary Rāvaṇa in a similar way. The same device was adopted to slay Tāraka, Vipracitti, Vātāpī, Ilvila, Triśira, Sunda, Upasunda and other demons and kings. Nothing

49. Ibid., CIII, 1-30.

50. मायाविनं इमां मायां मायया जहि भारत ॥

मायावी मायया वध्यः सत्यमेतद् युधिष्ठिरः ।

क्रियाम्युपायैर्वहुभिः मायामप्सु प्रयोज्य च ॥

जहि त्वं भरतश्रेष्ठ मायात्मानं सुयोधनम् ॥ Ibid., Śalya, XXXI, 6-8.

to say of others, Indra himself is said to enjoy heaven with the help of these means.⁵¹

In the Śalya Parva, Kṛṣṇa is again found favouring trickery. Bhīmasena and Duryodhana were engaged in the club encounter. Arjuna asked Śrī Kṛṣṇa as to who was likely to win. In reply Kṛṣṇa told him that without taking recourse to unfair means, Bhīmasena would not win over Duryodhana. Hence, Bhīma should seek the help of illusion to overthrow his adversary, Duryodhana. Justifying the use of trickery, Kṛṣṇa said that gods vanquished the demons, with the help of fraud. Indra employed deceit to slay Vīrocana. With the help of such means Vṛtra was deprived of his power and was ultimately slain by Indra. Moreover, Bhīṣma had pledged to break the thighs of Duryodhana. Hence he (Bhīmasena) should take recourse to unjust means, without hesitation, in order to kill Duryodhana.⁵²

In the righteous fighting, the exhausted enemy was not to be attacked anymore, because that was likely to result in his death. But in the unfair fighting, it was held that one should never be sympathetic towards a tired antagonist.⁵³

Thus, the Mahābhārata evidently advocates a dual-faced policy about the behaviour of the king, while attacking his antagonists. In the Śānti Parva, it has been said that in the presence of his enemy the king should feel sorry for the death of the soldiers, belonging to the opposite party, but afterwards he should praise those warriors of his own side, who

51. Ibid., XXXI, 8-16.

52. Ibid., LVIII, 3-9.

53. Duryodhana said to Droṇācārya :

न मर्षणीयुः संग्रामे विश्रमन्तः श्रमान्विताः ।

सपत्ना ग्लानमनसो लब्धलक्ष्या विशेषतः ॥ Ibid., Droṇa, CLXXXV, 2.

are responsible for killing them.⁵⁴ He should speak sweet words while and after attacking. After cutting the head (of the adversary) he should bemoan his death and even shed (crocodile) tears.⁵⁵ He has been advised to behave in the like manner even with the soldiers of his own army, to secure their devotion.⁵⁶

In the Śānti Parva, Yudhiṣṭhira asked Bhīṣma the way to win over the enemies. The answer given to him by Bhīṣma contains information about the unfair means that a king was advised to adopt. Bhīṣma said that he should aim to weaken the strong and powerful enemy. He should trouble the enemy-subjects with the help of weapons, fire and poison, which would bring unconsciousness. He should cause wranglings between the king and the ministers and his favourites.⁵⁷ He should store the grain inside the camp. If this was impossible, he should destroy it completely with the help of fire. He should arrange for the destruction of the enemy's crops by ordering his own soldiers to do the same,⁵⁸ so that the enemy might face a serious food-problem.

54. कृतं ममाप्रियं तेन येनायं निहतो मृधे ।

इति वाचा वदन् हन्तृन् पूजयेत् रहोगतः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, CII, 37.

55. प्रहरिष्यन् प्रियं ब्रूयात् प्रहृत्येव प्रियोत्तरम् ।

असिनापि शिरश्च्छित्त्वा शोचेत् च रुदेत् च ॥ Ibid., CXL, 54.

56. Ibid., CII, 38.

57. राष्ट्रं च पीडयेत् तस्य शस्त्राग्निविषमूर्छनैः ।

अमात्यवल्लभानां च विवादांस्तस्य कारयेत् ॥ Ibid., LXIX, 22.

58. शस्याभिहारं कुर्याच्च स्वयमेव नराधिपः ।

असम्भवे प्रवेशस्य दहेद् दावाग्निना भृशम् ॥

क्षेत्रस्थेषु च सस्येषु क्षत्रोरुपजयेन्नरान् ।

विनाशयेद् वा तत्सर्वं बलेनाथ स्वकेन वा ॥

Ibid., (G.P. Edition), LXIX, 37-8. In the Citraśālā Press Edition, the reading is *Tasyābbihāram*.... Keeping in view the context, the

He should drain out water from all the tanks. Failing to do this, he should cause all the water-reservoirs to be poisoned.⁵⁹

Manu advises a king to declare war, if and when his position is exalted, his subjects and allies are contented and his forces are exhilarated. He should campaign against the foe, if circumstances are in his favour and the adversary is in a contrary condition.⁶⁰

Kāmandaka expresses very clearly his attitude towards *Dharma Yuddha* and *Adharma Yuddha*. He says that a king should fight openly and fairly if the circumstances are in his favour. He should take recourse to the war of intrigues only if the case be just the contrary.⁶¹ He also advises a king to declare war against the foe, when the forces of the latter are not strong.⁶² He permits attacks on the sleeping and exhausted adversaries. Even those antagonists should be killed, whose eyes are shut because of dust or the glare of sun.⁶³ The enemy should be definitely murdered

reading *Sasyābbihāram*.... given in the G.P. Edition seems to be more correct. The critical edition, however, has *Sasyābbihāram*.

59. जलं विस्त्रावयेत्सर्वं अविस्त्राव्यं च दूषयेत् ॥ Ibid., LXIX, 39.

60. यदा प्रकृष्टा मन्येत सर्वास्तु प्रकृतिर्भृशम् ।
 अत्युच्छ्रितं तथाऽऽत्मानं तदा कुर्वीत विग्रहम् ॥
 यदा मन्येत भावेन हृष्टं पुष्टं बलं स्वकम् ।
 परस्य विपरीतं च तदा यायाद् रिपुं प्रति ॥
 अन्येष्वपि तु कालेषु यदा पश्येद् ध्रुवं जयम् ।
 तथा यायाद्विग्रहैव व्यसने चोत्थिते रिपोः ॥ VII, 170-71, 183.

61. विशिष्टो देशकालाभ्यां भिन्नारिप्रकृतिर्वली ।
 कुर्यात्प्रकाशयुद्धं च कूटयुद्धं विपर्यये ॥ *Kāmandaka*, XVIII, 54.

62. Ibid., XIX, 58.

63. अवस्कन्दभयाद्राजो प्रजागरकृतश्रमम् ।
 असन्नाहतश्चान्तमपराहेकं विनाशयेत् ॥
 निशि विश्रम्भसंमुप्तं तत्सौप्तिकविधानवित् ।
 सपादकोशावरणैर्भगैः कुरत्तु सौप्तिकम् ॥

with the help of such treacherous means, because one is not stained with sin by taking recourse to fraudulent methods.⁶⁴

In his Nītisāra, Śukra deals with the fight of intrigues in detail. According to him, the means do not justify the end. Hence, he says that the only aim before a king should be to kill the enemy, whether by taking recourse to *Dharma-Yuddha* or *Adharma-Yuddha*.⁶⁵ He describes *Kūṭa-Yuddha* as the negation of the code of fighting.⁶⁶ *Kūṭa-Yuddha* is the best way to vanquish a powerful enemy. He refers to Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Indra and other gods who employed treachery under such circumstances and mentions that Vāli and Namuci were killed with the help of guile.⁶⁷ He goes to the extent of advising the king to permit his soldiers to take wine also and to cut the enemy into pieces.⁶⁸

In his *Catuhśatikā*, Āryadeva says that a king does not incur sin by attacking the enemy at his weak points.⁶⁹ The

कोपादुग्रजवोपेतैर्नरैर्वा खड्गपाणिभिः ॥
प्रतिसूय महाबातं हन्यात्समीलितेक्षणम् ।
इत्येवं कूटयुद्धेन हन्याच्छत्रुं लघूस्थितः ॥ XVIII, 66.

64. नियतमिति निहन्यात्कूटयुद्धेषु शत्रुम् ।
न हि निरयति धर्मच्छद्मना शत्रुनाशः ॥ Ibid., XVIII, 69.
65. धर्मयुद्धैः हन्यादेव रिपुं सदा । IV, 1171.
66. धर्मयुद्धे तु कूट वै न संति नियमा अमी । Ibid., IV, 1180.
67. न युद्धं कूटे सदृशं नाशनं बलवद्विपोः ॥
रामकृष्णन्द्रादि देवैः कूटमेवाहतं पुरा ।
कूटेन निहतो बालिर्यवनो नमुचिस्तथा ॥ Ibid., IV, 1180-81.
68. पालयित्वा मदं सम्यक् सैनिकाञ्छौर्यवर्धनम् ।
नालास्त्रेण च खड्गाद्यैः सैनिकैः दारयेदरीन् ॥ Ibid., IV, 1173.
69. छिद्रप्रहरिणः पापं यदि राज्ञो न विद्यते ।

अन्येषामपि चौराणां तत् प्रागेव न विद्यते ॥ *Catuhśatika* (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. 8. pp. 449-514. Ed. By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, Calcutta, 1914) Chap. IV, 91.

Agni Purāṇa lays down that a king should make even false shouts of victory, so that the distant battalions of the opposite side may get confused and consequently disorderly,⁷⁰ because it is easier to vanquish a force, when it is not in the proper order. Thus in the unrighteous fighting, the end justifies the means. Hence, it sanctions the employment of trickery and deceit.

Employment of Guile by the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas :

- The Mahābhārata presents many examples of employment of guile by the Kauravas against the Pāṇḍavas. It informs us that the ever-increasing popularity and prosperity of the Pāṇḍavas made the Kauravas more and more worried and jealous of them. They realised the difficulty, rather impossibility of defeating them. Hence, from the very beginning they attempted to kill them with the help of unfair means. Duryodhana twice attempted to kill Bhīmasena by giving him poison. But both the times he was unsuccessful.⁷¹

The Kauravas planned to burn to death all the five Pāṇḍava brothers along with Kuntī. In accordance with this plan, the Pāṇḍavas were persuaded by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to go to Vārāṇāvata and stay in the palace, specially erected for them. The speciality of this palace was that it was constructed with hemp, resin and other inflammable materials. Śakuni was assigned the task of setting the palace to fire. With the help of Vidura, Pāṇḍavas came to know of this plan. One night they themselves set fire and fled to a forest through a subterranean passage which was attached to the *Lākṣāgrha* and was specially built for this purpose.⁷² Duryodhana, however, became very happy at the supposed death

70. 236. 59-68. Teste P. Jagannadha Swami : *Warfare in Ancient India*, pp. 42-3. See also Dikshitar, op.cit., p. 276.

71. *Mbh.* Ādi, LXI, 10-13; CXXVII, 27 ff; CXXIX, 37ff.

72. *Ibid.*, LXI, 16-23. For details about this treacherous plan of the Kauravās, see *ibid.*, Chaps. CXL-CXLVIII.

of the Pāṇḍavas. But afterwards, when Duryodhana came to know that his scheme of *Līkṣāgrha* (House of Lac) had failed and the Pāṇḍavas were still alive, he became very sad and much worried. Thereafter he proposed some other deceitful means to overthrow the Pāṇḍavas. He suggested to send some trustworthy *Brāhmaṇas* to the Pāṇḍavas, with the aim of creating dissension between the three sons of Kuntī and the two sons of Mādri. This was the policy of *Bheda* (dissension). His next suggestion was to adopt the policy of *Dāna* (giving gifts). He proposed to give rich presents to Drupada, his sons and ministers, so that they might abandon the cause of the Pāṇḍavas and side with the Kauravas. His next suggestion was to send some one to the Pāṇḍavas to make Draupadī dissatisfied with them. Duryodhana was well aware of the strength of Bhīmasena. Hence, he suggested that some one should be assigned the task of killing Bhīmasena. He even proposed that some beautiful maidens should be sent to the Pāṇḍavas, at which Draupadī would get angry.⁷³

Kaṛṇa, however, did not approve of these suggestions because, in his opinion, the Pāṇḍavas could not be killed with these methods. Moreover he said that Kṛṣṇa who sided with them while they were in distress could never be persuaded to leave them, when they had brighter chances of prosperity. He told Duryodhana that Drupada and his sons were so much devoted to the Pāṇḍavas that it was well nigh impossible to produce dissension between them. In his opinion, the Pāṇḍavas could not be overcome with the help of *Sāma*, *Dāna* or *Bheda* and hence war, i. e. *Danda* was the only way to vanquish them.⁷⁴

73. Ibid., CCI, 4-16.

74. Ibid., Ādi, CCII, 1-21.

Śakuni, the maternal uncle of Duryodhana, was a great expert at the game of dice. He placed before Duryodhana, the proposal to invite Yudhiṣṭhira for the game at dice, defeat him and take away his kingdom. This suggestion was highly appreciated by Duryodhana. After a little difficulty, they succeeded in persuading Dhṛtarāṣṭra to invite Yudhiṣṭhira for gambling, although Vidura was deadly against this. Yudhiṣṭhira came for the game, was defeated and ultimately deprived of his kingdom, other possessions and even his four brothers and wife, who was insulted by the winners. Seeing them defeated, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, however, pacified Draupadī and asked her to wish for something. Draupadī demanded the release of her husbands. Her wish was granted. Dhṛtarāṣṭra returned to Yudhiṣṭhira his lost kingdom and the Pāṇḍavas, accompanied by Draupadī proceeded towards their capital Indraprastha. Duryodhana, however, did not approve of it. He did not want any lift to be given to the Pāṇḍavas, because he thought that after gaining their power, Pāṇḍavas would surely avenge the misbehaviour meted out to them and Draupadī. Hence he again persuaded Dhṛtarāṣṭra to invite Yudhiṣṭhira for the game at dice, once more. Dhṛtarāṣṭra was soon convinced and he sent Pratikāmi to call the Pāṇḍavas back. They returned. Before the beginning of the game, Śakuni announced that the loser of the game would have to spend twelve years, in the forests and one year in a secret place, unrecognized by any one. If however, their whereabouts could be known during the period of *ajñātavāsa* (exile incognito), they would have to live in the forests for another twelve years. This time also, Yudhiṣṭhira lost the game and hence, left for forest, accompanied by his wife and four brothers.⁷⁵

75. For details, Vide *ibid.*, Sabhā. XLVIII, 19-22. and *ibid.*, Chaps. XLIX-LXXVI.

The Pāṇḍavas also adopted treacherous means for defeating the Kauravas, as has been shown in the following chapter.

Tit for Tat :

Side by side with these kinds of fighting the Mahābhārata sanctions the policy of paying one in the same coin. This has been advocated by Vidura also.⁷⁶ In agreement with the principle of tit for tat, Bhīṣma permits one to use deceitful means against him, who is deceitful. A righteous antagonist should be handled fairly.⁷⁷ Similar is the opinion of Bhīmasena⁷⁸ and lord Kṛṣṇa.⁷⁹ Śukra favours the same view.⁸⁰ One is not stained by using unfair means against such an adversary.⁸¹ In the Udyoga Parva, we find Drupada saying, "To speak sweet words to Duryodhana would be equal to behave with mildness towards an ass, and with severity towards a cow."⁸² As a result of this policy the most sanguinary War of Kurukṣetra was fought.

The policy of tit for tat is another name of the policy to take revenge. A study of the unjustifiable deeds during the

76. यस्मिन् यथा वर्तते यो मनुष्यस्तस्मिन् तथा वर्तितव्यं स धर्मः ।

मायाचारो मायया वर्तितव्यः साध्वाचारः साधुना प्रत्युपेयः ॥

Ibid., Udyoga, XXXVII, 7. The same *śloka* occurs in ibid., Śānti, CIX, 30.

77. स चेन्निकृत्या युध्येत निकृत्या प्रतियोधयेत् ।

अथ चेद् धर्मतो युद्धेद् धर्मणैव निवारयेत् ॥ Ibid., XCV, 9.

78. निकृत्या निकृतिप्रज्ञो हन्तव्य इति निश्चयः । Ibid., Vana, LII, 34.

79. मायावी मायया बध्यः सत्यमेतद् युधिष्ठिर ॥ Ibid., Śālya, XXXI, 6.
See also ibid., Vana, XII, 7; LII, 22.

80. सच्छूद्रमचारि भवति तेनच्छूद्रम समाचरेत् । Śukra, IV, 1300.

81. यो यथा वर्तते यस्मिन् तस्मिन्नेव प्रवर्तयन् ।

नाधर्मं समवाप्नोति न चाश्रेयश्च विन्दति ॥ Mbh. Udyoga, CLXXVII, 53.

82. गर्दभे मार्दवं कुर्याद् गोषु तीक्ष्णं समाचरेत् ।

मृदु दुर्योधने वाक्यं यो ब्रूयात् पापचेतसि ॥ Ibid., IV, 5.

War of Kurukṣetra will reveal that generally these steps were taken in the name of this policy and were dominated by the feeling of revenge. Arjuna took a vow to kill Jayadratha, who was mainly responsible for the death of Abhimanyu. Aśvatthāmā slaughtered Dhṛṣṭadyumna as if he were a beast, only because the latter had murdered Droṇācārya, his father, unfairly. Further Aśvatthāmā, with the co-operation of Kṛpācārya and Kṛtavarmā, killed all the remaining sleeping warriors of the Pāṇḍavaside, because Duryodhana was killed by Bhīmasena, disregarding the code of fighting.

CHAPTER IX
ETHICS OF WAR—II
THEORY AND PRACTICE
OF THE CODE OF FIGHTING.

Wars in ancient India were to be fought at any cost, but not without method. Importance was attached to ethical considerations and a code of fighting was framed to guide the conduct of the contending parties. As we shall see, it was mostly violated even by the leading characters in the War of Kurukṣetra and thus the ideal fell too short of the practical aspect.

We have no evidence of the existence of an accepted code of fighting in the Vedic period. But in the Mahābhārata we find a fully developed code of fighting. The combating parties were expected to observe it strictly and punishment was inflicted on those, who violated it. One of these punishments was social ostracism.¹

Before the commencement of the War of Kurukṣetra, a code was framed by the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas.² The main provisions of the Epic code of fighting are given below.

-
1. अथ चेत्लङ्घयेदेव मर्यादां क्षत्रियब्रुवः ॥
असंख्येयस्तदूर्ध्वं स्यादनादेयश्च संसदि । *Mbh. Śānti, XCVI, 9-10.*
See also Dikshitar : *War in Ancient India* (1948), p. 91.
 2. ततस्ते समयं चक्रुः कुरुपाण्डवसोमकाः ॥
धर्मान् संस्थापयामासुर्युद्धानां भरतर्षभ । *Mbh. Bhīṣma, I, 26-7.*

1. *Declaration of War :*

Declaration of war implies the formal notification that a particular state has decided to wage a war against some other state, before the actual commencement of war. The Mahābhārata furnishes evidence of it. Kṛṣṇa was sent by the Pāṇḍavas to the Kauravas³ to proclaim war against the latter and Duryodhana sent Ulūka to the Pāṇḍavas for the same purpose.⁴

2. *Fighting with Equals Recommended :*

Fighting with unequally circumstanced persons has been prohibited therein.⁵ Thus an elephant-rider was to have an elephant-rider as his antagonist, a chariot-warrior should fight with a chariot-warrior, a horse-rider should have a similar combatant and a foot-soldier should fight only with a foot-soldier.⁶ The same is the opinion of Śukra also.⁷ If any one variety is not found enough, the following substitutes may be made, "Three infantry soldiers should be deemed as a fair match for a hussar, while three such troopers should be employed to oppose a single elephant-man. Fifteen foot-soldiers should be employed to guard each elephant-man and infantry soldiers, equalling the guard of nine such elephant-men in number should be engaged to defend each car-warrior."⁸

3. Ibid., Śalya, XXXV, 5-10.

4. Ibid., Udyoga, Chaps. CLX-CLXI.

5. नाश्वेन रथिनं यायादुदियाद् रथिनं रथी । Ibid., Śānti, XCV, 10.

6. गजो गजेन समरे रथिनं च रथी ययौ ।

अश्वोऽश्वं समभिप्रायात् पदातिश्च पदातिनम् ॥ Ibid., Bhīṣma, XLV, 83.

Cf. ibid., Droṇa, CXLIII, 8.

7. गजो गजेन यातव्यः तुरगेण तुरंगमः ।

रथेन च रथो योज्यः पत्तिना पत्तिरेव च । Śukra, IV, 1175.

8. *Agni Purāṇa*, 242,38. M.N. Datta's rendering adopted.

In the Mahābhārata this rule was sometimes observed and in some cases, violated. Bhīṣma, riding on a chariot, did not attack Paraśurāma, who was standing on the ground and asked the latter to ride on a chariot if he wanted to fight with him.⁹ In the same way Śikhaṇḍī, on a chariot, did not attack Kṛpācārya, who was chariotless.¹⁰ Arjuna did not attack Kṛpācārya who had fallen,¹¹ and Bhīma alighted from his chariot to attack foot-soldiers.¹² Examples of the violation of this rule are also found. Bhīmasena¹³ and Babhruvāhana¹⁴ raised arms against chariotless Karṇa and Arjuna respectively. Arjuna did the same thing with Karṇa and in doing so, he was advised by Lord Kṛṣṇa himself.¹⁵ Dhṛṣṭadyumna and some other warriors of the Pāṇḍava side killed Śalya after depriving him of his elephant.¹⁶ Citrasena did not hesitate in attacking Duryodhana, who was chariotless and had fallen.¹⁷ A similar unsympathetic behaviour was meted out to Koṭikāśya by Bhīmasena.¹⁸ In the War of

9. तमहं समयन्निव रणे प्रत्यभाषं व्यवस्थितम् ।

भूमिष्ठं नोत्सहे योद्धुं भवन्तं रणमास्थितः ॥

आरोहं स्यंदनं वीर कवचं च महाभुज ।

वधानं समरे राम योद्धुं यदि मयेच्छसि ॥

Mbh. Udyoga, CLXXIX, 1-2.

10. कृपं तु दृष्ट्वा विरथं रथस्थो नेच्छच्छरैस्ताडयितुं शिखण्डी ।

Ibid., Karṇa, LXXV, 16.

11. *Ibid.*, Virāṭa, LVII, 24.

12. *Ibid.*, Karṇa, XCIII, 24; Śalya, III, 24-5.

13. *Ibid.*, Droṇa, CXXXIII, 43-5.

14. *Ibid.*, Āśvamedhika, LXXIX, 18.

15. *Infra*, pp. 308-9.

16. *Ibid.*, Śalya, Chap. XX.

17. *Ibid.*, Vana, CCXLII, 6.

18. *Ibid.*, CCLXXI, 26.

Kurukṣetra, called undignified war¹⁹ (*nirmāryādam yuddham*) there are many examples of the non-observance of this rule.²⁰

With a view to ensuring fairness in fighting the Mahābhārata lays down that if one party has put on armour, the opponent also should be clad in the same. If the enemy comes with the army, the adversary also should be backed by the army.²¹ The opponents should be of equal status. A king should have only a king as his antagonist.²² He should never fight with a person of low lineage and bad conduct.²³ The Rāmāyaṇa also favours the fight between equals.²⁴

The number of the opponents also should be equal. One warrior should be attacked by one and one only at a time.²⁵ Duryodhana said the same thing to Yudhiṣṭhira.²⁶ This rule, however, was violated several times in the War of Kurukṣetra. Thus Bhīmasena was attacked from all sides.²⁷ Duryodhana asked his warriors to do the same thing

19. Ibid., Bhīṣma, XLVI, 1; LXXV, 24-6; XCIII, 25; Droṇa, XCVII, 21; CLXIX, 50; Karṇa, LII, 5-7; Śalya, IX, 36; XXIII.

20. न ह्यनीकमनीकेन समसज्जत संकुले ।

रथाः न रथिभिः सार्वं पदाता न पदातिभिः ॥

अश्वाः नाश्वैर्युध्यन्त गजा न गजयोधिभिः ।

उन्मत्तवन्महाराज युध्यते तत्र भारत ॥ Ibid., Bhīṣma, CXVIII, 2-3.

21. स चेत्सन्नद्ध आगच्छेत् सन्नद्धव्यं ततो भवेत् ।

स चेत्ससैन्य आगच्छेत् ससैन्यस्तमथावहेत् ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XCV, 8.

22. राज्ञा राजैव योद्धव्यस्तथा धर्मो विधीयते ।

नान्यो राजानमभ्यसेदराजन्यः कथंचन ॥ Ibid., XCVI, 7.

23. वृथाकुलसमाचारैः न युध्यन्ते नृपात्मजाः । Ibid., Ādi, CXXXVI, 33.

24. अश्वैरश्वान्गजैर्गजान्योर्धैर्योधान् रथे रथान् ।

स कपिर्नाशयामास सहस्राक्ष इवामुरान् ॥ Rām. Yuddha, 46, 38.

25. Mbb. Śānti, XCV, 7.

26. न ह्येको बहुभिर्वीरैः न्यायो योषयितुं युधि ॥ Ibid., Śalya, XXXII, 12.

27. Ibid., Bhīṣma, LXXVII, 37-8; Droṇa, CXXXV, 30-31.

with Arjuna²⁸ and Abhimanyu was killed by the joint efforts of the six Mahārathīs of the Kaurava side.²⁹ This act has been strongly condemned in the Epic itself.

In contradiction with this emphasis on the equal number of adversaries, peculiarly enough we find Duryodhana and other prominent warriors of the Kaurava side resolving that one (of the Pāṇḍava side) should not be attacked by one and that they should attack the Pāṇḍavas jointly. One, who attacked them all alone or abandoned a comrade engaged with the Pāṇḍavas, would be guilty of committing sins.³⁰ It seems probable that this was allowed as *Āpaddharma* because a large number of the Kaurava troopers had been killed by the Pāṇḍavas.

3. *Condemnation of Flight from the Battle-Field and Proper Death for the Kṣatriyas :*

Fighting being regarded as an important duty of a *Kṣatriya*, he should always be in preparedness for war and must respond, when challenged, without caring for victory or death. This is the eternal law, proclaimed by the Creator.³¹ He should not be afraid of death because it is inevitable. Even those, who do not participate in a warfare are sure to

28. Ibid., Bhīṣma, CXVII, 26. See also Ibid., Śalya, XXVII, 37-8.

29. द्रोणकर्णमुखैः षड्भिः धार्तराष्ट्रैः महारथैः ।

एकोऽयं निहतः शेते नैष धर्मो मतो मम ॥ Ibid., Droṇa, XLIX, 22.

ततो द्रोणः कृपः कर्णो द्रौणिः कौसल्य एव च ।

कृतवर्मा च सौमद्रं षड् रथाः पर्यवारयन् ॥ Ibid., LXXIII, 10.

See also ibid., Chaps. XLIX; L; LII, 3, 4, 6.

30. न एकेन योद्धव्यं कथाचिदपि पाण्डवैः ॥

यो ह्येक पाण्डवैर्युध्येद् यो वा युध्यन्तमुत्सृजेत् ।

स पंचभिर्भवेद् युक्तः पातकैश्चोपपातकैः ॥ Ibid., Śalya, VIII, 8-9.

31. जयो वधो वा संग्रामे धात्राऽऽदिष्टः सनातनः ।

स्वधर्मः क्षत्रियस्येष कार्पण्यं न प्रशस्यते ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, LXXIII, 4.

Cf. त्यक्त्वा प्राणमयं युध्येत्स शूरस्त्वविशंकितः ॥ *Sūkṛa*, I, 320.

die.³² Moreover, one attains heaven by being killed and glory, by killing others, in a battle.³³ Lord Kṛṣṇa also expresses a similar view while asking Arjuna to fight by saying, "if killed, you will go to heaven and if victorious, you will enjoy the earth".³⁴ Leaving the battle-field has been highly condemned. One, who does so, is the lowest among men (*puruṣādhama*).³⁵ King Janaka of Mithilā told the same thing to his warriors.³⁶ According to Bhīṣma, a *Kṣatriya*, who violates this rule is put to difficulties³⁷ and he goes to hell after death.³⁸ Baudhāyana,³⁹ Manu⁴⁰ and Śukra⁴¹ also prohibit flight from the battle-field, as the most heinous crime.⁴² Bhīṣma goes to the extent of saying that "he, who desires to save his life by deserting his comrades, should be slain with sticks of stones or rolled in a mat of dry grass for being burnt to death.... Those guilty of such conduct should be killed after the manner of killing animals".⁴³

A Kṣatriya's death in the battle-field has been praised. He, who fights bravely and is killed while fighting, attains glory

32. *Mbh.* Strī, II, 4-5.

33. *Ibid.*, II, 14.

34. हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम् । *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma, XXVI, 37.

35. *Ibid.*, Śānti, XCVII, 20.

36. *Ibid.*, XCIX.

37. *Ibid.*, XCVII, 21.

38. *Ibid.*, XCVIII, 40-41.

39. संग्रामे न निवर्तेत । *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* (Ed. L. Śrīnivāsāchārya, Mysore, 1917), I, 10, 9.

40. न निवर्तेत संग्रामात् क्षात्रं वर्ममनुस्मरन् ॥ VII, 87. See also *ibid.*, X, 119.

41. IV, 1152-6.

42. न ह्यधर्मोऽस्ति पापीयान् क्षत्रियस्य पलायनात् ॥ *Mbh.* Karṇa, XCIII, 59.
See also *ibid.*, Śānti, C, 34-7.

43. तं हन्युः काष्ठलोष्टैर्वा दहेयुर्वा कटाग्निना ।

पशुवन्मारयेयुर्वा क्षत्रिया ये स्युरीदृशाः ॥ *Ibid.*, Karṇa, XCVII, 22.

here and the desired regions hereafter.⁴⁴ The Mahābhārata⁴⁵ and the Śukra Nitisāra⁴⁶ are one in saying that such a warrior goes to heaven and there he is received by nymphs who want him to be their lord, whereas one, who is killed while flying from the battle-field due to fear(of life), becomes responsible for the sins, committed by his king and the latter acquires all the merits of the former.⁴⁷

It was believed that a warrior should not wish for a happier end than death on the battle-field. His death in his home has been condemned by the Mahābhārata.⁴⁸ Similar is the view of the Śukra Nitisāra.⁴⁹ His end on the battle-field is fruitful from all points of views. He attains his desired regions (*loka*)⁵⁰, difficult to be attained even with

44. इह कीर्ति समाधाय प्रेत्य लोकान् समश्नुते ॥

प्राणाञ्जहाति यो धीरो युद्धे पृष्ठमदर्शयन् । Ibid., Śalya, XXVIII, 22-3.
 See also Bhīṣma, III, 48-9; Droṇa, XLIX, 35, 37-9; Śalya, V, 42; Śānti, LV, 14, 19.

45. वराप्सरसहस्राणि शूरमायोधने हतम् ॥

त्वरमाणाभिधावन्ति मम भर्ता भवेदिति । Ibid., Śānti, XCVIII, 46-7.
 See also ibid., Śalya, V, 37-8.

46. Śukra, IV, 1143-4.

47. यस्तु भीतः परावृत्तः संग्रामे हन्यते परैः ।

भर्तुर्यद् दुष्कृतं किञ्चित् तत्सर्वं प्रतिपद्यते ॥

यच्चास्य सुकृतं किञ्चिदमुत्रार्थमुपाजितम् ।

भर्ता तं सर्वमादत्ते परावृत्तहतस्य तु ॥ *Manu*, VII, 94-5.

48. न गृहे मरणं तात क्षत्रियाणां प्रशस्यते । *Mbh.* Śānti, XCVII, 25.

अधर्मः सुमहानेष यच्छय्यामरणं गृहे ॥ Ibid., Śalya, V, 32.

See also *śloka*s 33-4.

49. अधर्मः क्षत्रियस्येष यच्छय्यामरणं भवेत् । *Śukra*, IV, 1136. See also the *śloka*s following.

50, प्रेत्य लोकान् लभेमहि ॥ *Mbh.* Vana, XXXIII, 17. See also ibid., Śalya, V, 35-7.

the help of penance.⁵¹ According to Kauṭilya, heaven, which is attainable by the *Brāhmaṇas* after great penance and performance of several sacrifices is attained in no time by a *Kṣatriya* simply by dying on the field of battle.⁵² Śukra believes that only two types of persons go to the high region, ascetics and the soldiers killed in the battle.⁵³ Flight from the battle-field is not their duty (*Dharma*). Their death in the battle-field is better than running away⁵⁴, because, as Yudhiṣṭhira said to Kṛṣṇa, conquest and defeat are equal for one, killed in the battle.⁵⁵

They earn glory in this world and enjoy pleasure for a long time in their desired *lokas*, hereafter.⁵⁶ A warrior, killed by weapons in the war, attains purity and merits of performing several sacrifices.⁵⁷ According to the Agni Purāṇa, death in the battle is the best of all austerities and it expatiates.

51. न तथा तपसा राजन् लोकान् प्राप्नोति क्षत्रियः ।

यथा सृष्टेन युद्धेन विजयेनेतरेण वा । *Mbh.* Vana, XXXIII, 73.

See also *ibid.*, Sabhā, XXII, 18 and *ibid.*, Strī, II, 15-9.

52. नान्यज्ञसंवेः तपसा च विप्राः स्वर्गेषिणः पात्रचयश्च यान्ति ।

क्षणेन तान्यपि अतियान्ति शूराः प्राणान् सुयुद्धेषु परित्यजन्तः ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, (Ed. Shāmasastri, 1919). p. 367.

53. द्वौ इमौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ ।

परित्राड् योगयुक्तो यो रणे चाभिमुखं हतः ॥ *Śukra* (with commentary by J. Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1882) IV, 7, 317.

54. नैष शूरैः स्मृतो धर्मः क्षत्रियस्य पलायनम् ।

श्रेयस्तु मरणं युद्धे न भीतस्य पलायनम् ॥ *Mbh.* Virāṭa, XXXVIII, 24.

55. हतस्य च हृषीकेश समौ जयपराजयौ । *Ibid.*, Udyoga, LXXII, 63.

56. राजानः क्षत्रधर्मेण यदि वध्यन्ति संयुगे ।

वीरलोकं समासाद्य सुखं प्राप्स्यन्ति केवलम् ॥

इह कीर्तिं परे लोके दीर्घकालं महत्सुखम् ।

प्राप्स्यन्ति पुरुषव्यात्राः प्राणांस्त्यक्त्वा महाहवे ॥ *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma, III, 48-49.

57. उद्यतैराहवे शस्त्रैः क्षत्रधर्महतस्य च ।

सद्यः संतिष्ठते यज्ञस्तथाशौचमिति स्थितिः ॥ *Manu*, V. 98.

sins.⁵⁸ Hence, when challenged, a *kṣatriya* should always fight a righteous battle.⁵⁹

Chivalry and heroism in war were praised. Meritorious and deserving warriors, who have shown bravery in the battlefield, should be suitably rewarded by the king.⁶⁰

Such a warrior should not be the object of sorrow (*aśocya*).⁶¹ The Rāmāyaṇa says the same thing.⁶²

This rule was sometimes disregarded and sometimes observed in the War of Kurukṣetra. Two examples of its observance are presented by Karna, who did not leave the field even while severely attacked by Bhīmasena⁶³ and Abhimanyu.⁶⁴ But the Mahābhārata refers to many occasions when the frightened army left the battle-field.⁶⁵ Once Duryodhana also did the same thing⁶⁶ and at another place he is

58. *Agni Purāṇa*, 232, 52-6. Teste P. Jagannadha Swami, *Warfare in Ancient India*, pp. 3-4.

59. ब्राह्मणानां यथा धर्मो दानमध्ययनं तपः ।
क्षत्रियाणां तथा कृष्ण समरे देहपातनम् ॥
आहूतेन रणे नित्यं योद्धव्यं क्षत्रवन्धुना । *Mbb.* Śānti, LV, 14, 19.

60. IV, 1185, 1191.

61. तद् दुःखं नाहवे वधः.....। *Mbb.* Vana, XXXIII, 16.

आहवे तु हतं शूरं न शोचेत कथंचन ॥
अशोच्यो हि हतः शूरः स्वर्गलोके महीयते । *Ibid.* Śānti, XCVIII, 44-5.

62. नैवं विनष्टाः शोच्यन्ते राजधर्ममवस्थिताः ।

वृद्धिमाशंसमाना ये निपतन्ति रणाजिरैः ॥

इयं हि पूर्वेः संदिष्टाः गतिः क्षत्रियसंमता ।

क्षत्रियो निहतः संख्ये न शोच्य इति निश्चयः ॥ *Rām. Yuddha*, 112, 15-6

63. *Mbb.* Droṇa, CXXXIII, 43-4.

64. *Ibid.*, LVIII, 25.

65. *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma, LVIII, 21-3, 27; LIX, 80-81; Droṇa, XVI, 18; XVIII, 29; XXXVII, 36; LXXXIX, 29-32; CXIII, 5-18; Karna, LXXVII, 71-3; Śalya, XXI, 30-32; XXVII, 5. .

66. *Ibid.*, Virāṭa, LXV, 13.

satisfied to die in the way, prescribed for the *Kṣatriyas*.⁶⁷ Those, killed in the battle, are said to have gone to heaven⁶⁸.

Although it is said that the death of *Kṣatriyas* in the battle-field should not be mourned, we find their relatives weeping for them which is quite natural. Not to speak of others, even Arjuna wanted to commit suicide after knowing the fall of Abhimanyu.⁶⁹ Besides feeling sad for such *Kṣatriyas*, Yudhiṣṭhira performed their '*śrāddha*' also.⁷⁰

4. *Disposal of Those Killed in War.*

A vivid description of the battle-field after the War of Kurukṣetra occurs in the Strī Parva of the Epic. It is said that the battle-field was covered with many thousands of dead bodies⁷¹ of kings, great men as well as ordinary warriors: Jackals, vultures, crows and other wild birds and beasts were eating them and were dragging their bones and limbs hither and thither.⁷² Ladies were weeping and trying hard to identify their departed and near and dear ones.⁷³

That the dead bodies even of important personalities, nothing to say of the ordinary soldiers, were not properly disposed of or otherwise cared for the same night,⁷⁴ is eviden-

67. *Mbh.* Śalya, LXI, 50-54; LXIV, 17-27; LXV, 25-6, Strī, XI, 6-7.

68. *Ibid.*, Chap. X.

69. *Ibid.*, Droṇa, Chap. LXXII.

70. *Ibid.*, Śānti, XLII ff; Āśvamedhika, LXII, 1-6.

71. *Ibid.*, Strī, XVI, 5.

72. *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma, XVII, 4 Droṇa, LXXVIII, 6-8; XCVII, 13-5; CXXV, 77; CXLV, 94; Śalya, XXIX, 65-75; LXI, p. 4308 (Southern Recension, G.P. Ed.); Sautpika, IX, 3-5; Strī, XVI, 11-2; XXII, 1, 9-10; XXIII, 5, 32-3; XXIV, 1, 8-9, 27; XXV, 23; XXVI, 23.

73. *Ibid.*, XVI-XXV.

74. "In the case of Rāma's army the dead bodies were left lying on the battle-field, while in the case of the Rākṣasa soldiers, the dead bodies were quickly thrown into the sea. Rāvaṇa's order as regards the disposal of the dead Rākṣasas was to throw them all into the sea.

ced in the same Parva,⁷⁵ wherein Gāndhārī identified⁷⁶ the dead bodies of some important leaders⁷⁷ after some days of their fall.

But the statement, that the dead bodies were allowed to remain on the battle-field does not seem to be acceptable on the following grounds :

1. If the dead bodies were not removed from the battle-field they might have become decomposed and might have made the atmosphere very foul⁷⁸, of which there is no mention in the Mahābhārata.

2. These heaps of dead bodies might have made the movements of the troops very difficult. The Mahābhārata says that the earth (i. e. the battle-field) had become impassable on account of the dead bodies that were lying there.⁷⁹

so that the survivors might not be frightened by the knowledge of the immense slaughter.”

Rām. VI, 74, 75 ff. P.C. Dharma : Rāmāyaṇa Polity, p. 93.

75. *Mbh. Strī, Chaps. XVI—XXV.*

76. “It seems absurd that the dead bodies of Droṇa, Karṇa, and Duryodhana, of which no care is shown to have been taken, could have been identified many days after.” C.V. Vaidya, *Epic India*, p. 167.

77. They are Abhimanyu, Droṇācārya, Karṇa, Jayadratha, Bhūriśravā, Bhīṣma, Vivimśati, Sudakṣiṇa, Uttara, Jayatsena, Bṛhadbala, sons of Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Prince of Kekaya, Drupada, Dhṛṣṭaketu, the son of Śiśupāla, Bhagadatta, Vāhnikā, Virāṭa, Śalya, Śakuni, Lakṣmaṇa, Duryodhana and Duḥśāsana and their 98 brothers.

78. It is for this reason that Kautilya says, “whoever throws inside the city (i.e. does not cremate properly) the carcass of animals such as a cat, dog, mongoose and a snake shall be fined 3 *paṇas*; of animals such as an ass, a camel, a mule and a cattle, shall be fined 6 *paṇas*; and human corpse shall be punished with a fine of 50 *paṇas*.”⁷⁹

Arthaśāstra (translated by Shamasastri). II, 36, p. 163.

79. *Mbh. Strī, XVI, 56.*

3. The battle-field also does not appear to be very extensive, for the troops came to fight in the morning and returned to their camps in the evening.

Coming to the cremation of these warriors, we find that all of them were cremated on one and the same day.⁸⁰ The Strī Parva informs us that the dead bodies were heaped up on pyres according to their rank and were then cremated.⁸¹ Thereafter their *Śrāddha* was performed. This was in contradiction with the instruction that nobody should give food or water to such a person. In other words, his *Śrāddha* etc. should not be performed. According to Bhīṣma, the death of such a *Kṣatriya* does not lead to death-uncleanliness.⁸² Similar is the view of Manu. In his words, "kings, . . . are never affected by death or birth-uncleanliness, inasmuch as the kings are the representatives of Indra (on earth)..... No uncleanliness exists in respect of death of persons, killed in a battle.....Sovereignty is founded on the energies of the lords of the eight regions; hence a king is not affected by uncleanliness. A person, killed with an uplifted weapon in battle in discharge of the duties of a *Kṣatriya*,⁸³ instantaneously acquires the merit of a sacrifice, and is at that moment purged of uncleanliness."⁸⁴

5. *Behaviour Towards one, Asking for Shelter :*

The Mahābhārata lays great emphasis on the protection of one, asking for shelter. Such a person should always be protected even if he be an enemy.⁸⁵ Killing a suppliant has

80. Ibid., XXVI.

81. Ibid., XXVI, 27-30.

82. न ह्यन्नं नोदकं तस्य न स्नानं नाप्यशौचकम् ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XCVIII, 45.

83. SIC.

84. Manu, V, 93, 95, 97.

85. शत्रोरपि प्रपन्नस्य सोऽनृशंसः प्रतापवान् ।

दाताभयस्य वीभत्सुरमितात्मा महाबलः ॥ *Mbh. Vana*, CXLI, 15.

been strictly prohibited by Yājñavalkya also.⁸⁶ Bṛhaspati goes to the extent of saying that even a sinful person should not be killed if he asks for shelter.⁸⁷ The violation of this rule leads to hell.⁸⁸ Arjuna did not attack those warriors, who were asking for shelter.⁸⁹ From this as well as the next rule, it can be inferred that the Mahābhārata wants warriors to kill an enemy without hatred, grudge and prejudice.

6. *Behaviour Towards an Exhausted Enemy :*

An exhausted enemy should not be attacked. Doing injury to such an antagonist may result in his death.⁹⁰ Similar is the view of Bhīṣma.⁹¹ The Mahābhārata prohibits raising arms against one, who is in distress or who is frightened.⁹² In the Dṛoṇa Parva a contradictory statement is to be found. It says that a tired enemy should not be excused and mercy should not be shown towards him.⁹³ Lord Kṛṣṇa advocates the former view.⁹⁴

7. *Behaviour Towards the Innocent and Leader-less soldiers :*

Brutal vandalism has been prohibited in the Mahābhārata, which says that a king should never slay a large number of

86. *Yājñavalkya* (Ed. N. S. Khiste, Banaras, 1930), I, 326.

87. शरणागतं सर्वपातकयुक्तमपि रक्षेत् । *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* 3, 51.
Teste Viswanatha : *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 152.

88. *Sūkera*, IV, 1155-6.

89. *Mbh.* Virāṭa, LXXXVII, 4-5.

90. बलान्तं शत्रुर्न कौन्तेय लभ्यः पीडयितुं रणे ।

पीड्यमानो हि कात्स्न्येन जह्याज्जीवितमात्मनः ॥ *Ibid.*, Sabhā, XXIII, 32.

91. नामित्रो विनिकर्तव्यो नातिच्छेद्यः कथंचन ।

जीवितं ह्यप्यतिच्छिन्न सत्यजेच्च कदाचन ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti, XCV, 10.

92. व्यसने न प्रहृतव्यं न भीताय जिताय च । *Ibid.*, XCVI, 15.

93. न मर्षणीयाः संग्रामे विश्रमन्तः श्रमान्विताः ।

सपत्नाग्लानमनसो लब्धलक्ष्या विशेषतः ॥ *Ibid.*, Dṛoṇa, CLXXXV, 2.

See also *Kaṇṇa*, LXXXVIII, 33.

94. *Ibid.*, Dṛoṇa, CXLII, 50.

his enemies.⁹⁵ In the Rāmāyaṇa we find Rāma telling Lakṣmaṇa that it is not justified to kill many for the fault of one.⁹⁶ This rule has been sometimes observed in the Mahābhārata. Arjuna, desirous of killing Jayadratha did not see him on the battlefield. He asked his soldiers to search Jayadratha and prohibited them to kill the innocent soldiers, because there was no good in slaughtering the faultless troopers.⁹⁷

If the soldiers left the battle-field, on account of being without a leader, they were to be protected and given shelter. When Duryodhana entered a lake to save himself, Yuyutsu came to Hastināpura with the permission of Yudhiṣṭhira, to arrange for the protection of the soldiers, who had left the battle-field.⁹⁸

Casualties and Survivors of the War of Kurukṣetra :

In spite of the prohibition of slaughter of the innocent soldiers, many such persons were killed. The armies, participating in the War of Kurukṣetra, were eighteen *akṣaubhiṇīs* in number,⁹⁹ seven of which belonged to the Pāṇḍavas and eleven to the Kauravas.¹⁰⁰ Out of the eleven *akṣaubhiṇīs* of the Kauravas,

95. न सन्निपातः कर्तव्यः सामान्ये विजये सति ॥ Ibid., Śānti, CIII, 13.

96. एकस्य नापराधेन लोकान्दहन्तुं त्वमर्हसि ।

नैकस्य तु कृते लोकान्विनाशयितुमर्हसि । Rām. (Ed. by T. R. Krishnamachari, Bombay, 1911), Araṇya, 65, 6-10.

97. यस्यापचारात् प्राप्तोज्यमस्मान् क्लेशो दुरासदः ।

तमस्मिन् समरोद्देशे न पश्यामि जयद्रथम् ॥

तमेवान्विष भद्रं तं किं ते योर्धेनिपातितेः ।

अनामिषमिदं कर्म कथं वा मन्यते भवान् ॥ Mbh. Vana, CCLXXI, 37-8.

98. Ibid., Śālyā, XXIX, 93-5.

99. एतया संख्यया ह्यासत् कुरुपाण्डवसेनयोः ।

अक्षौहिण्यो द्विजश्रेष्ठाः पिण्डिताष्टदशैव तु ॥ Ibid., Ādi, II, 28.

अक्षौहिण्यो दशैका च संख्याताः सप्त एव च ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, CLV, 26.

100. Ibid., Bhīṣma XVI, 25-6; Udyoga, CLV, 27.

only three persons, Aśvatthāmā, Kṛtavarmā and Kṛpācārya survived the War and out of the seven *akṣauhiṇīs* of the Pāṇḍavas, seven persons namely, Kṛṣṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma-sena, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadeva and Sātyaki were the survivors.¹⁰¹ So many men were killed that the world appeared to be predominated by women.¹⁰²

While giving the scheme of the military units, the Ādi Parva informs us that one *akṣauhiṇī* consisted of 21870 elephants, 21870 chariot-warriors, 65610 horses and 109350 foot-soldiers.¹⁰³ Thus eighteen *akṣauhiṇīs* would mean 393660 elephants, 393660 chariots, 1180980 horses and 1968300 foot-soldiers. Referring to the casualties of the Kurukṣetra War, the Māhābhārata informs us that one billion, sixty six crore and twenty thousand (1,660020000) soldiers were killed and

101. Aśvatthāmā said to Duryodhana :

दुर्योधन जीवसि त्वं वाक्यं श्रोत्रमुखं शृणु ।

सप्त पाण्डवतः शेषा धार्तराष्ट्रस्त्रयो रथाः ॥

ते चैव भ्रातरः पञ्च वासुदेवोऽथ सात्यकिः ।

अहं च कृतवर्मा च कृपः शारद्वतस्तथा ॥ Ibid., Sautika, IX, 48-9.

See also Śālya, VII, 35—8.

102. प्रायः स्त्रीशेषमभवज्जगत् ॥ Ibid., VII, 35.

103. In the Udyoga Parva, an altogether different scheme of the military units occurs. *Vāhinī*, *Pr̥ttanā*, *Camū* and *Akṣauhiṇī*, different units according to the Ādi Parva, have been said to convey the same sense in this scheme (Ibid., Udyoga, CLV, 25). This scheme is, however, silent about cavalry and infantry. According to it one *vāhinī* consists of 50,000 elephants and 50,000 chariots (Ibid., Udyoga, CLV, 24). This will be the strength of an *akṣauhiṇī* also because according to this scheme *akṣauhiṇī* and *vāhinī* are identical. This is inconsistent with the unit-numbers given in the Ādi Parva. Moreover, this scheme is incomplete also. Hence, we have to depend on the scheme given in the second chapter of the Ādi Parva.

twenty four thousand, one hundred and sixty-five (24,165) were missing and only ten persons survived.¹⁰⁴

These figures make it clear that the number of the casualties was greater even than the number of the participants. This can be explained only in two ways : the numbers are not authentic or many non-participants were killed. In support of the latter alternative, it is noteworthy that an army was accompanied by physicians,¹⁰⁵ *viṣṭis*,¹⁰⁶ *deśikas*,¹⁰⁷ *Naukās*,¹⁰⁸ Spies,¹⁰⁹ drivers of vehicles, carrying arms and weapons,¹¹⁰ and *cakrarakṣakas*.¹¹¹ They also seem to have been killed in the War of Kurukṣetra, since there is no reference to their survival after the War. We know that every chariot-warrior had at least one charioteer,¹¹² who was not

104. *Mbh.* Strī XXVI, 9-10.

105. See infra, pp. 294-5.

106. Nilakaṇṭha explains *Viṣṭi* as "*Bhāravāhaḥ*" i.e. the carriers of load.

107. *Deśikas*, according to Nilakaṇṭha, were "*Upadeśāro guravaḥ*" i.e. the preceptors. C.V. Vaidya, however, thinks that they were scouts, who guided the way and gave informations about the opponent. *Mahābhārata Mīmāṃsā*. p. 347.

108. *Naukās* i.e. boats are indicative of the naval fight. In the War of Kurukṣetra., however, there was no scope for such fight.

109. *Mbh.* Śānti, LIX, 41.

110. Ibid., Karṇa, XX, 30 refers to the carts, that were driven by eight bulls. It seems natural to infer that more than one man were employed to control them.

111. Ibid., Droṇa, CLIV; Karṇa, XX, 28. These *cakra-rakṣakas* were posted to the right and the left wheel of the chariot of a prominent warrior. Their duty was to guard both the wheels (*cakras*) of a chariot and to avoid attacks from all sides. See also C.V. Vaidya : *Mahābhārata Mīmāṃsā*, p. 354.

112. The number of charioteers swelled in correspondence with that of the horses, because it was practically impossible for one man to efficiently control many horses. One man was appointed to control two horses (*Mbh.* Udyoga, CLV, 13-4). Thus, a chariot having four horses was driven by two charioteers.

counted separately. There are examples wherein charioteers were killed by an adversary.¹¹³ Kṛṣṇa was the only charioteer who survived. This leads us to infer that the rest of the charioteers were killed and were added to the list of casualties. It seems likely that a similar behaviour was meted out to the elephant-drivers also. The Divyāstras were used in the War of Kurukṣetra,. This resulted in the death of combatants as well as non-combatants.¹¹⁴

8. *Behaviour Towards the Non-combatants :*

It is further prohibited to fight against those, who are non-combatants (*ayudhyamāna*) or, who go to the battle-field, as mere spectators. The Mahābhārata furnishes proof that spectators were admitted into the field of battle, when the battle was going on. Bhīṣma mentions them, while describing his duel fight with Paraśurāma.¹¹⁵ Manu¹¹⁶ and Śukra¹¹⁷ also refer to them. According to the Agni Purāṇa,¹¹⁸ fruit and flower-gardens and crops etc. should be left unmolested. Kauṭilya says that if the peaceful population raised arms against the invader, the conqueror could punish them by destroying their crops, stores of grain and trade¹¹⁹. In the course of his discourse to Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīṣma says that a king should take away all stores of grains from the open country and collect the same in the fort. If it is not possible, crops should be

113. Ibid., Virāṭa, LXIV, 9; Udyoga, CLXXXII, 3-7; Droṇa, CXXX, 34-5; XXXVII, 22-3; CXLVII, 62-5; XCIII, 64; XCL, 16-7; CLV, 18-9; CLXVIII, 9; CXCIV, 32-3; Śālya, XVII, 27; XXVI, 29-33.

114. Ibid., Droṇa, CXC, 39.

115. Ibid., Udyoga, CLXXXII, 11.

116. नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम् ॥ *Manu*, VII, 92.

117. न युध्यमानं न पश्यन्तं युध्यमानं परेण च । *Śukra*, IX, 1177.

118. *Agni Purāṇa*, 236, 22. Teste Dikshitar; *War in Ancient India*, p. 71.

119. विषमस्थस्य मुष्टिं सस्यं वा हन्याद्वधप्रसारो । *Arthaśāstra* (Ed.

Shamasastri, 1919) p. 402.

set on fire and destroyed. The crops of the antagonist should also be destroyed, so that he may have to face a serious food-problem.¹²⁰ The same thing should be done in regard to the *Caitya* trees.¹²¹ At another place, however, it has been said that the branches of other trees can be cut off, but no harm should be done even to a single leaf of a tree, belonging to the temples (*Caityas*).¹²²

In practice, the rule about non-combatants does not seem to have been strictly followed. The *Māhābhārata* points out that Lord Kṛṣṇa destroyed the city, named as Saubha Nagara, after killing Śālva.¹²³ It further informs that Śālva had destroyed the city of Dvārakā.¹²⁴

9. Behaviour Towards a *Brāhmaṇa* :

Raising arms against a *Brāhmaṇa* has been prohibited in the *Mahābhārata*.¹²⁵ But he could be attacked if he himself took up arms. By bearing arms, a *Brāhmaṇa* became a *Kṣatriya*.¹²⁶

120. शस्याभिहारं कुर्याच्च स्वयमेव नराधिपः ।

असंभवे प्रवेशस्य दहेद् दावाग्निना भृशम् ॥

क्षेत्रस्थेषु च सस्येषु शत्रोरपजयेन्नरान् ।

विनाशयेद् वा तत्सर्वं बलेनाथ स्वकेन वा ॥ *Mbb. Śānti LXIX, 37-8.*

121. चैत्यद्रुभावमर्दश्च । *Ibid.*, LIX, 63.

122. प्रवृद्धानां च वृक्षाणां शाखां प्रच्छेपयेत्तथा ।

चैत्यानां सर्वथा त्याज्यं अपि पत्रस्य पातनम् ॥ *Ibid.*, LXIX, 42.

For a comparison between the ancient and the modern rules about the non-combatants see Chatterjee : *International Law and Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*, p. 94.

123. *Ibid.*, Vana, XX, 10.

124. *Ibid.*, XXII, 26.

125. गो-ब्राह्मणनृपस्त्रीषु सख्युर्मातुर्गुरोस्तथा ।

हीनप्राणजडान्वेषु मुप्तभीतोत्थितेषु च ॥

मत्तोन्मत्तप्रमत्तेषु न शस्त्राणि च पातयेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, Sautika, VI, 21-2.

See also *Sābhā*, XLI, 31; *Drona*, CXCI, 53; *Kaṇva*, XC, 111-3.

126. ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियत्वं हि याति शस्त्रसमुश्रयात् । *Ibid.*, Udyoga, CLXXIX, 25.

e.g. Dronācārya. By killing such a *Brāhmaṇa*, the slayer did not become guilty of the murder of a *Brāhmaṇa* (*Brahmahatyā*).¹²⁷ Whosoever takes up arms, can be attacked.¹²⁸ Śukra also permits attack on such a *Brāhmaṇa*.¹²⁹ The Mahābhārata further mentions those circumstances also under which a *Brāhmaṇa* could behave like a *Kṣatriya*. These are as follows : (i) for his protection (*ātma-trāṇe*), (ii) when the *varṇas* are defective (*varṇa-doṣe*), (iii) when the observance of rules is impossible (*durdṣmyaniyameṣu*)¹³⁰ and (iv) when ordered by the king.¹³¹ It further stipulates the idea that a *Brāhmaṇa* does not incur sin by raising arms against *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*.¹³²

If a *Brāhmaṇa*, desirous of peace, entered the battle-field, both the combating parties were to stop fighting immediately. Attacking and injuring such a *Brāhmaṇa* was prohibited. If anyone violated this rule, he was to be ostracised and debarred from enjoying the privileges which he had enjoyed

127. प्रगृह्य शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तं रणे ।

जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयान्न तेन ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XXXIV, 17.

128. उद्यतेषुमथो दृष्ट्वा ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रवन्धुवत् ।

यो हन्यात्समरे क्रुद्धं युध्यन्तमपलायिनम् ।

ब्रह्महत्या न तस्य स्यादिति धर्मेषु निश्चयः ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, CLXXVIII, 51-2.

129. उद्यम्य शस्त्रमायान्तं भ्रूणमप्याततायिनम् ॥

निहत्य भ्रूणहा न स्यादहत्वा भ्रूणहा भवेत् । IV, 1151-2.

130. ब्राह्मणस्त्रिषु कालेषु शस्त्रं गृह्णन्न दुष्यति ।

आत्मत्राणे वर्णदोषे दुर्दम्यनियमेषु च ॥ Mbh. Śānti, LXXVIII, 34.

131. राज्ञो नियोगाद् योद्धव्यं ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः ।

वर्तता क्षत्रधर्मेण ह्येवं धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LXV, 42.

132. ब्राह्मणस्त्रिषु वर्णेषु शस्त्रं गृह्णन्न दुष्यति ।

एवमेवात्मनस्त्यागान्नान्यं धर्मं विदुर्जनाः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LXXVIII, 29

so far.¹³³ According to Baudhāyana, capital punishment should never be inflicted upon a *Brāhmaṇa*, whatever crime he committed and a *Kṣatriya*, who killed a *Brāhmaṇa*, should be murdered and be deprived of all his possessions.¹³⁴

10. *Conqueror's Behaviour Towards a Captured Maiden* : Capture of the maidens (of the enemy's side) was one of the causes of war in Ancient India.¹³⁵ According to the *Mahābhārata* she should be kept by the victor for one year and asked to marry him or some one else. In case, she was unwilling to do so she should be left free.¹³⁶ This was actually done by Bhīṣma, who kidnapped Ambā, Ambikā and Ambālikā—the three daughters of the king of Kāśī, for his brother Vicitravīrya,¹³⁷ he himself having taken the vow of celibacy.¹³⁸

133. अनीकयोः संहतयोर्यदीवाद् ब्राह्मणोऽन्तरा ।
शान्तिमिच्छन्नभ्युतो न योद्धव्यं तदा भवेत् ॥
मर्यादां शाश्वतीं भिन्द्याद् ब्राह्मणं योऽभिलषयेत् ।
अथ चेन्नलंघयेदेव मर्यादां क्षत्रियब्रुवः ॥
असंख्येयस्तदूर्ध्वं स्यादनादेयश्च संसदि ।
यस्तु धर्मविलोपेन मर्यादाभेदेन च ॥
तां वृत्तिं नानुवर्तेतं विजिगीषुर्महीपतिः ।
धर्मलब्धाद्वि विजयाल्लभः कोऽभ्यधिको भवेत् ॥ Ibid., XCVI, 8-11.

134. अवध्यो वै ब्राह्मणस्सर्वापराधेषु ॥
ब्रह्महत्यागुरुतत्पगमनस्वर्णस्तेयसुरापानेषु कुसिन्धुभगसृगालमुराध्वजांस्तप्तेनायसा-
ललाटेऽकथित्वा विषयान्निर्धनम् ।
क्षत्रियादीनां ब्राह्मणवधे वधस्सर्वस्वहरणं च ॥ *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*
(Ed. by L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1907). I, 10, 17-9.

135. वैरं पञ्चसमुत्थानं तच्च बुध्यन्ति पण्डिताः ।
स्त्रीकृतं वास्तुजं वागजं ससापत्नावपराधजम् ॥ *Mbb. Śānti*, CXXXIX, 42.

136. नार्वाक्संवत्सरात् कन्या प्रष्टव्या विक्रमाहता ।
एवमेव धनं सर्वं यच्चान्यत्सहसाऽऽहृतम् ॥ Ibid., XCVI, 5.

137. Ibid., Ādī, CII, 11-58.

138. Ibid., C, 94-6; CIII, 12-8.

Ambā, the eldest, wanted to marry Śalva and hence she requested Bhīṣma to set her at liberty¹³⁹ and Bhīṣma allowed her to go.¹⁴⁰

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa informs us that the conquerors did not hesitate to marry such captured maidens. Being defeated by Jyāmakha, his enemies ran away. Jyāmakha saw there a frightened girl, who belonged to a royal family. He brought the girl with him with the intention to marry her. But he could not do so on account of the fear of his first queen.¹⁴¹

11. *Behaviour Towards the Captives of War* : A defeated foe should be brought to the palace of the conqueror and the latter should not fight with him. He should be asked to accept the suzerainty of the victor. If a war-captive did not agree to do so, he was to be left free after one year.¹⁴² Jarāsandha imprisoned his defeated antagonists in a hill-fort. After his death, those captives of war were released by Kṛṣṇa.¹⁴³ But the period of their imprisonment has not been mentioned.

12. *Righteousness in King's Conduct, Praised* : It is stated in the Mahābhārata that a king should never think of adopting unrighteous means, even if, with their help he could become the sovereign of the whole world, because *adharma-vijaya* (unrighteous conquest) leads to hell.¹⁴⁴ Progress made with the help of false and unfair means, is as bad as a heinous crime such as *Brahma-batyā* (Brahmanicide).¹⁴⁵

139. Ibid., CII, 61-2.

140. Ibid., CII, 64.

141. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 12, 15 ff.

142. वलेन विजितो यश्च न तं युध्येत भूमिपः ।

संवत्सरं विप्रणयेत्तस्माज्जातः पुनर्भवेत् ॥ *Mbh. Śānti*, XCVI, 4.

143. Ibid., Sabhā, XXIV, 31 ff.

144. Ibid., Śānti, XCVI, 1-2.

145. Ibid., Udyoga, XL, 3.

13. *Rule regarding War-Weapons* : The use of poisonous war-weapons, fire-arms and the arrow known as *Karṇī* has been prohibited by the Mahābhārata,¹⁴⁶ the Manu Smṛti¹⁴⁷ and the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.¹⁴⁸ Prohibiting their use, the Mahābhārata calls them the weapons of the wicked persons.¹⁴⁹ The manufacturers of the *Karṇī* arrow go to hell.¹⁵⁰

In practice, however, we find this humanitarian rule being violated more than once. The *Karṇī* arrow was used by • Bhīmasena against Karṇa¹⁵¹ and by Śakuni against Nala.¹⁵² In the conversation between Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Sañjaya, we are informed by the former that Arjuna used the *Karṇī* arrow.¹⁵³ Karṇa attacked Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa with *Sarpaṃmukha Bāṇas* although the use of poisonous arrows was prohibited.¹⁵⁴ In the Virāṭa Parva also we find Arjuna attacking Karṇa with the *Karṇī*¹⁵⁵ arrow. Droṇācārya did the sinful act of using Brahmāstra against the innocent soldiers, who were burnt because of it.¹⁵⁶ The same thing was done by Aśvatthāmā and Arjuna also.¹⁵⁷

146. इषुलिप्तो न कर्णी स्यादसतामेतदायुधम् । Ibid., Śānti, XCV, 11.

147. न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्त्याद् युध्यमानो रणे रिपून् ।

न कर्णिमिनीपि दिग्धैः नाग्निज्वलिततेजनैः ॥ Manu, VII, 90.

148. न कर्णिभिः न दिग्धैः वा प्रहरेत् । Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, 1,10, 10.

149. असतामेतदायुधम् । Mbh. Śānti, XCV, 11.

150. करोति कर्णिनो यश्च यश्च खड्गादिकृन्नरः ।

प्रयान्त्येते विशसने नरके भृशदारुणे ॥ Viṣṇu Purāṇa, II, 6, 16-7.

151. Mbh. Droṇa, CXXXIX, 3.

152. Ibid., CLXIX, 9.

153. Ibid., Udyoga LVII, 3.

154. Ibid., Karṇa, LXXXIX, 88, 90; XC, 19 ff.

155. Ibid., Virāṭa, LV, XXXVII.

156. Ibid., Droṇa, CXC, 24ff; CXCI, 42.

157. Ibid., Sautpika, Chaps. XIII-XIV.

In this connection, an incident, mentioned in the Droṇa Parva, attracts our attention. We are informed that Varuṇa gave a club to Śrutāyudha and instructed him not to raise it against a non-combatant. Disregarding this instruction, Śrutāyudha attacked the non-combatant Kṛṣṇa with it. It was surprising that the club did no harm to Kṛṣṇa and Śrutāyudha himself was killed by it.¹⁵⁸

14. *The Time of Fighting* : It was a custom to fight in the broad daylight. War was to be stopped generally after the sun-set to be resumed in the morning.¹⁵⁹ Examples of the violation of this rule are also present in the Mahābhārata. and night fights (*Rātri yuddha*) have been mentioned at several places.¹⁶⁰ The Rāmāyaṇa also refers to¹⁶¹ them.

15. *Persons not to be Attacked* : (a) *Prohibition to raise arms against the preceptor* : The Mahābhārata lays down that one should not fight with his preceptor¹⁶² although sometimes it was unavoidable.¹⁶³ A *guru*, who is greedy and who does not adhere to his vows, could be killed.¹⁶⁴ When the fight was unavoidable, the preceptor's permission to fight was to be sought for.¹⁶⁵ In such fights, the student went to his preceptor to take his permission and solicited his blessings.

158. Ibid., Droṇa, Chap. XCII.

159. Ibid., Udyoga, CLXXXII, 30.

160. In the Droṇa Parva the *Rātri yuddha* between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas has been described in details in as many as thirty chapters. Vide Ibid., Droṇa, Chaps. CLIV-CLXXXIV.

161. Rām. VI, 44, 2. Teste Dharma : *Rāmāyaṇa Polity*, p. 92.

162. आचार्यो नामिद्योक्तव्यः पुरुषेण विजानता । *Mbh.* Virāṭa, LI, 2.

163. एवं वृत्तं सदा क्षात्रं युध्यन्तीह गुरुनपि । Ibid., Droṇa, CLXXXIX, 31.

164. समयत्यागिनो लुब्धान् गुरुनपि च केशव ।

निहन्ति समरे पापान्धत्रियो यः स धर्मवित् ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LV, 17.

165. आदिष्टस्तु यथा राजन् को न युध्येत मादृशः ॥ Ibid., Droṇa, CXII, 14.

See also ibid., Bhīṣma, XLIII, 23-4.

(*āśīrvāda*).¹⁶⁶ In such cases the preceptor was to attack first and then only the student could reply.¹⁶⁷ Arjuna thinks it better to give up his life rather than to fight against his preceptor, *Ācārya* Droṇa.¹⁶⁸ He prefers begging alms rather than killing his elders and preceptor.¹⁶⁹ When the combat between Droṇācārya and Arjuna was unavoidable, the latter sought the permission of the former and asked him to attack first.¹⁷⁰ Before the actual outbreak of the War of Kurukṣetra, we find Yudhiṣṭhira doing the same thing.¹⁷¹ Followed by his brothers he went to Bhīṣma,¹⁷² Droṇa,¹⁷³ Kṛpācārya¹⁷⁴ and Śalya¹⁷⁵ for their permission. In spite of their unwillingness to do so, *Ācārya* Droṇa and Arjuna had to attack each other. The former felt sorry and cried fie upon the *Kṣatriya-dharma* which compelled him to attack Arjuna, who was dearer than even a son to him.¹⁷⁶ Arjuna also regards the duties of the *Kṣatriyas* as

166. Ibid., Udyoga, CLXXIX, 12-5.

167. यदि मे प्रथमं द्रोणः शरीरे प्रहरिष्यति ।

ततोऽस्य प्रहरिष्यामि नास्य कोपो भवेदिति ॥ Ibid., Virāṭa, LV, 45.

168. यथा मे न वधः कार्यः आचार्यस्य कदाचन ।

प्रतीपो नाहमाचार्ये भवेयं वै कथंचन । Ibid., Droṇa, XIII, 7, 9.

169. कथं भीष्ममहं संख्ये द्रोणं च मधुसूदन ।

इषुभिः प्रतियोत्स्यामि पूजार्हाविरसूदनौ ॥

गुरुनहत्वा हि महानुभावान् श्रेयो भोक्तुं भैक्ष्यमपीह लोके ।

Ibid., Bhīṣma, XXVI, 4-5.

170. Ibid., Virāṭa, LVIII, 18-9; Droṇa, CXLVII, 6-27.

171. Ibid., Bhīṣma, XLIII, 22.

172. Ibid., XLIII, 35-49.

173. Ibid., XLIII, 49-67.

174. Ibid., XLIII, 67-76.

175. Ibid., XLIII, 76-88.

176. तं च पुत्रान् प्रियतमं प्रतियोत्स्ये धनंजयम् ।

क्षत्रं धर्ममनुष्ठाय धिगस्तु क्षात्रजीविकाम् ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, CXXXIX, 5.

severe and formidable,¹⁷⁷ because these prescribed killing even their elders, father, grandfather, sons, teachers, relatives and kinsmen in a war.¹⁷⁸

(b) *Prohibition to Attack Women* : The Mahābhārata strongly prohibits raising arms against women,¹⁷⁹ even if one be in deep anger,¹⁸⁰ because they are *avadhya* and *abimsya*, meaning, 'not deserving murder or violence.'¹⁸¹ They should always be pardoned.¹⁸² In ancient times, records the Epic, Vālmiki also held the same view.¹⁸³ Śiśupāla censures Kṛṣṇa by calling him "the murderer of women (*strīghnaḥ*) and cows (*goghnaḥ*),¹⁸⁴ " but he does not mention as to how and when Kṛṣṇa committed this heinous sin. Śukra also is against attacks on women.¹⁸⁵ In the War of Kurukṣetra, this rule was observed by Bhīṣma even at the cost of his life.¹⁸⁶

177. दारुणः क्षत्रियधर्मोऽयमृषिभिः सम्प्रदर्शितः । Ibid., Bhīṣma, XIV, 64.

178. पुत्रो भ्राता पिता चैव स्वस्त्रीयो मातुलस्तथा ।

सम्बन्धिवान्धवश्चैव योध्या वै क्षत्रजीविना ॥ Ibid., Śalya, IV, 9.

179. न स्त्रियं हन्तुमर्हसि । Ibid., Ādi, CLIII, 24.

स्त्रीषु गोषु न शस्त्राणि पातयेद् ब्राह्मणेषु च । Ibid., Sabhā, XLI, 3.

180. क्रुद्धोऽपि पुरुषव्याघ्र भीम मास्म स्त्रियं वधीः । Ibid., Ādi, CLV, 2.

See also ibid., CLVIII, 31.

181. अवध्यास्तु स्त्रियः सृष्टा मन्यन्ते धर्मचारिणः ।

तस्माद्धर्मो वर्धे त्वं नास्मान् हिंसितुमर्हसि ॥ Ibid., CCXVII, 4.

अहिंस्यां प्रमदामातुः । Ibid., Sabhā, XXII, p. 731. (Southern Recension, G.P. Ed.) See also ibid., Vana, XVIII, 13-4.

182. स्त्रियो ह्यवध्याः सर्वेषां ये धर्ममभिविन्दते ॥ Ibid., CCVI, 46.

183. अपि चायं पुरा गीतः श्लोको वाल्मीकिना भुवि ।

न हन्तव्या स्त्रिय इति यद् ब्रवीषि प्लवंगवम् ॥ Ibid., Droṇa, CXLIII, 67.

184. Ibid., Sabhā, XLI, 16.

185. Śukra IV, 1179.

186. See Infra , pp. 301 ff.

We know from the Mahābhārata¹⁸⁷ and the Rāmāyaṇa¹⁸⁸ that women also accompanied their near and dear ones in the battle-field and lived with them in their camps. But no harm was done to them. The Sautika Parva described how Aśvat-thāmā, with the co-operation of Kṛpācārya and Kṛtavarmā successfully carried out his devilish plan of killing the sleeping warriors of the Pāṇḍava side.¹⁸⁹ But there too, we do not find even a single example of a woman being insulted, injured or killed.

In this connection, the information furnished by the Sabhā Parva is interesting. It refers to fight by women. We get this hint from Kṛṣṇa, who told Yudhiṣṭhira, "There is a delightful town towards the west called Kuśasthalī, adorned by the mountains of Raivata. In that city, O monarch, we took up our abode. We rebuilt its fort and made it so strong that it became impregnable even to gods. And from within it, even the women might fight the foe, not to speak of the Yādava heroes.¹⁹⁰ But the epic is silent about the behaviour which was to be meted out to the fighting women. Perhaps Kṛṣṇa made this statement to describe the invincibility of the fort.

(c) *Prohibition to Raise Arms Against the Warriors Without Armour etc.* : The Mahābhārata repeatedly lays down that one should not attack one, who is not clad in a coat of mail or who does not possess arrows or other weapons or whose

187. *Mbh.* Droṇa, LXXVII, 9-11; Śalya, XXIX, 65-79; Sautika, VIII, 24-5, 28-33.

188. *Rām.* Ayodhyā, 12, 18-9.

189. *Mbh.* Sautika, Chap. VIII.

190. कुशस्थलीं पुरीं रम्यां रैवतेनोपशोभिताम् ।

ततो निवेशं तस्यां च कृतवन्तो वयं नृप ॥

तथैव दुर्गसंस्कारं देवैरपि दुरासदम् ।

स्त्रियोऽपि यस्यां युध्येयुः किमु वृष्णिमहारथाः ॥ *Ibid.*, XIV, 50-51.

weapons and armours are broken.¹⁹¹ Manu¹⁹² and Śukra¹⁹³ also forbid attacking or killing such persons. An example of the violation of this rule has been presented by the Kaurava warriors, who deprived the sixteen year old Abhimanyu of all his war weapons as well as his chariot. Sitting on their chariots they attacked and killed him, while he was standing on ground.

(d) *Prohibition to Attack the Wealthy Men and Donors*: In time of war, special care should be taken of wealthy persons.¹⁹⁴ A donor should be neither attacked nor killed.¹⁹⁵

(e) *Prohibition to Attack Old Men and Children* : Children and old men being unfit for fighting were to be exempted from the injuries of war.¹⁹⁶ Similar is the opinion of Śukra.¹⁹⁷

(f) *Prohibition to Kill one, who is Sleeping* : Those who are sleeping should not be killed, says the Mahābhārata.¹⁹⁸

191. अवाणे भ्रष्टकवचे भ्रष्टभग्नयुधे तथा ॥

न विमुञ्चन्ति शस्त्राणि शूराः साधुव्रते स्थिताः । Ibid., Karna, XC, 112-3.

नैवासन्नद्धकवचो योद्धव्यः क्षत्रियो रणे । Ibid., Śānti, XCV, 7.

विशीर्णकवचं चैव तवास्मीति च वादिनम् ।

कृताञ्जलिं न्यस्तशस्त्रं गृहीत्वा न हि हिंसयेत् ॥ Ibid., XCVI, 3.

श्रान्तं भीतं भ्रष्टशस्त्रं रुदन्तं पराङ्मुखं पारिवर्हेषच हीनम् ।

अनुद्यन्तं रोगिणे याचमानं न वै हिंस्याद् बालवृद्धौ च राजन् ॥ Ibid., CXCVII, 4.

न बधः पूज्यते लोके सुप्तानामिह धर्मतः ।

तथैवापस्तशस्त्राणां विमुक्तरथवाजिनाम् ॥ Ibid., Sautika, V, 11.

192. Manu, VII, 91-3.

193. यथायोग्यं हि संयोज्य विघ्नन्धर्मो न हीयते । Śukra, IV, 1179.

194. धनितो बलमुख्याश्च सान्त्वयित्वा पुनः पुनः ॥ Mbh. Śānti, LXIX, 36.

195. तत्र दाता न हन्तव्यः क्षत्रियेण विशेषतः । Ibid., CXXXIX, 43.

196. Ibid., Vana, XVIII, 14; Śānti, CCXCVII, 4; Virāta, 67, p. 2021
(Southern Recension, G.P. Edition)

197. IV, 1179.

198. न बधः पूज्यते लोके सप्तानामिह धर्मतः । Mbh. Sautika, V, 11, See also ibid., VI, 21-2; Śānti, C, 26; Gautama, X, 16-7; Manu, VII, 92.

The idea is to support fighting between equals. One who is sleeping is naturally unaware of, and unprepared for, the attack. This rule was violated by Aśvatthāmā, Kṛtavarmā and Kṛpācārya, who belonged to the side of the Kauravas.¹⁹⁹

(g) *Prohibition to Kill one who is Attempting for Mokṣa (Emancipation)* : Raising arms against one, who has set his heart on emancipation has been prohibited in the Mahābhārata.²⁰⁰ An example of the non-observance of this rule has been presented by the Pāṇḍava side in the killing of Droṇācārya, who had given up arms and had fixed his attention on liberation after knowing that Aśvatthāmā was killed.

(h) *Other Persons, to be Exempted from Attacks* : According to the Mahābhārata the following should not be attacked or injured or killed : one, in distress,²⁰¹ wounded, one having no progeny,²⁰² one who is tired, one who is eating or drinking, one who is mad, one who is engaged in an incomplete work, one who is gate-keeper, one who does menial services, one who is wounded,²⁰³ one who is a non-combatant, one who has run away from the battle-field, one who has come for shelter, one who has folded his hands i.e. who is begging to be pardoned and one who is intoxica-

199. *Infra.*, pp. 311 ff.

200. *Mbh.* Śānti, C, 26-9.

201. *Ibid.*, Śānti, XCV, 10.

202. *Ibid.*, XCV, 12.

203. प्रमुप्तांस्तृषिताञ्छ्रान्तान् प्रकीर्णान् नामिधातयेत् ।

मोक्षे प्रयागे चलने पानभोजनकालयोः ।

अतिक्षिप्तान् व्यतिक्षिप्तान् निहतान् प्रतनूकृतान् ॥

अविश्रब्धान् कृतांरम्भानुपन्यासान् प्रतापितान् ।

बहिष्चरानुपन्यासान् कृतवेश्मानुसारिणः ॥

पारम्पर्यागते द्वारे ये केचिदनुवर्तिनः ।

परिचर्यावतो द्वारे ये च केचन वर्णिनः ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti, C, 26-9.

ted²⁰⁴ and cows.²⁰⁵ The Rāmāyaṇa also gives an identical list of such persons.²⁰⁶

According to Gautama, the following persons are unfit for being killed : one who is thirsty or hungry, drinking, eating or speaking (to some one else), exhausted, an ambassador, a *Brāhmaṇa*, in distress, running away from the battlefield and one with folded hands. Cows also should not be attacked.²⁰⁷

Āpastamba prohibits killing one without arms, asking for shelter, with folded hands, whose hairs are lying loose (i.e., who is frightened).²⁰⁸

Manu exempts one who is sleeping, sitting or standing on ground (not in readiness for attacks), seriously wounded, frightened, engaged in fighting with someone else, weaponless, a non-combatant or a mere spectator of war, a eunuch, who says 'I am thine', naked and one, in distress.²⁰⁹

204 अयुध्यमानस्य वधस्तथा शत्रोश्च मानद ।

पराङ्मुखस्य द्रवतः शरणं चापि गच्छतः ॥

कृताञ्जलेः प्रपन्नस्य प्रमत्तस्य तथैव च ।

न वधः पूज्यते सदिभस्तच्च सर्वं गुरौ तव ॥ Ibid., Karna, LXIX, 25-6.

205. Ibid., Sauptika, VI, 21-2.

206. अयुध्यमानं प्रच्छन्नं प्राञ्जलिं शरणागतम् ।

पलायमानं मत्तं वा न हन्तुं त्वमिहार्हसि ॥ *Rām* (Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1929) Yuddha, 80, 39.

207. न दोषो हिंसायामाहवे ॥ अन्यत्र व्यवसायार्थायुध कृताञ्जलि-प्रकीर्णकेशपराङ्मुखो-
पविष्टस्थलवृक्षारूढदूतगोत्राह्वणवादिभ्यः ॥ *Gautama* (Ed. by L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1917) X, 16-7.

208. न्यस्तायुधप्रकीर्ण केशप्राञ्जलिपराङ्गवृत्तामानार्या वधं परिचक्षते ।
Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra (Ed. by A.C. Sastri and A.R. Sastri, Banaras, 1932), 2, 6, 12.

209. न च हन्यात्स्थलारूढं क्लीबं न च कृताञ्जलिम् ।

न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवास्मीतिवादिनम् ॥

A more or less similar list has been given by Śukra.²¹⁰

The Mahābhārata prohibits the killing of an ambassador, the mouthpiece of a king²¹¹. The same is the view of the Rāmāyaṇa also.²¹² It goes to the extent of saying that an ambassador should not be injured even if he be equipped with war-weapons.²¹³

The Mahābhārata further says that good men and those, not deserving murder should not be killed,²¹⁴ because killing good men (*avadhyas*) and not killing the wicked ones (*vadhyas*) are equally sinful.²¹⁵ The Epic code of fighting is against killing one's own people (*ātma-jana*) by calling it fruitless.²¹⁶

It seems likely that while making these lists the ancient Indian writers were actuated by the following considerations:—

न सुप्तं न विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।
 नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम् ॥
 नायुधव्यसनप्राप्तं नार्तं नातिपरिक्षतम् ।
 न भीतं न परावृत्तं सतां धर्ममनुस्मरन् ॥ *Mann*, VII, 91-3.

210. न च हन्यात्स्थलारूढं न क्लीवं न कृताञ्जलिम् ।
 न मुक्तकेशमासीनं न तवास्मीतिवादिनम् ॥
 न सुसन्नं विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।
 न युध्यमानं पश्यन्तं युध्यमानं परेण च ॥
 पिवन्तं न च भुञ्जानं अन्यकार्याकुलं च न ।
 न भीतं न परावृत्तं सतां धर्ममनुस्मरन् ॥ *Śukra*, IV, 1176-8.

211. न तु हन्यान्नृपो जातु दूतं कस्याञ्चिदापि । *Mbh.* Śānti, LXXXV, 26.

212. ब्रुवन् परार्थं परवान्न दूतो वधमर्हति । *Rām*, Sundara, 52, 21.

213. न्यस्तशस्त्रो गृहीतो वा न दूतो वधमर्हति ॥ *Ibid.*, Yuddha, 25, 21.

214. अवध्यानां वधं कृत्वा लोके प्राप्ताः स्म वाच्यताम् । *Mbh.* Śānti, VII, 34.

215. यथा वध्ये वध्यमाने भवेद् दोषो जनार्दन ।

स वध्यस्यधिष्ठे दृष्ट इति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ *Ibid.*, Udyoga, LXXXII, 18.

216. आत्मानमात्मना हत्वा किं धर्मफलमाप्नुमः ॥ *Ibid.*, Śānti, VII, 4.

(i) *Humane* : Due emphasis was laid on the equality of circumstances, status and number of the opponents. Again it was on humane grounds that they prohibited to attack one, who was unprepared, who was a suppliant, whose arms etc. had been broken and who had run away from the battlefield and was thus unwilling to fight.

(ii) *Racial* : Prohibition to kill women, children and those who had no progeny, shows that the continuance of race was given due importance.

(iii) *Material* : Realising the importance of wealth in the affairs of the state, the wealthy persons and donors were exempted from being injured.

(iv) *Social* : It was desired that the social life of the peace-loving population should not be disturbed by the severities of war. Hence, the prohibition to attack the non-warring elements.

(v) *Spiritual* : The spiritual class consisting of *Brāhmanas*, was not to be injured if engaged in the duties prescribed for its *Varṇa*. Those intent on liberation were exempted on similar grounds.

16. *Prohibition to Use Trickery (Māyā)* : The Mahābhārata prohibits and condemns the use of *Māyā*,²¹⁷. But it permits recourse to illusion if the opponent also uses it.²¹⁸ Manu is deadly against its use in the righteous warfare.²¹⁹

In the Battle of Kurukṣetra, *māyā* was sometimes used, for instance, in the combat between Ghaṭotkaca and Alambuṣa,²²⁰ Ghaṭotkaca used it as a result of which all the

217. Ibid., Udyoga, XLIII, 5.

218. तथा माया प्रयुञ्जानमसहं.....।

माययैव विहन्याद् यो न युक्तं पार्थ तत्र किम् ॥ Ibid., Droṇa, CXCVII, 27.

219. अमाययैव वर्तेत न कथञ्चन मायया । *Manu*, VII, 104.

220. *Mbh.* Droṇa, CIX, 2. See also Vana, Chap. CLXXI.

warriors appeared to be wounded and dead.²²¹ According to the Vana Parva, Rāvaṇa used *māyā* in the battle against Rāma.²²² In the Rāmāyaṇa we find Indrajīta making illusory Sītā to discourage Rāma's army.²²³

17. *Army to be Accompanied by a Well-furnished Ambulance Corps* :—The Mahābhārata furnishes ample proofs to show that a well-furnished ambulance corps accompanied the army.²²⁴ According to it, the army should be followed by an ambulance corps, well-furnished with expert surgeons and physicians²²⁵ to heal up both men and beasts when they fell ill and got wounded in the battle-field.²²⁶ Similar is the view of Kautīlya.²²⁷ These physicians had very good and effective medicines²²⁸ with them for the purpose. This philanthropic work was extended generously enough to the wounded soldiers, even of the enemy-rank. Bhīṣma told Yudhiṣṭhira that the wounded soldiers of the enemy's side should be provided with all sorts of medical facilities and should

221. Ibid., Bhīṣma, XCIV, 42-5.

222. ततः स सैन्यमालोक्य बध्यमानमरातिभिः ।

मायावी चामृजन्मायां रावणो राक्षसाविपः ॥ Ibid., Vana, CCXC, 5.

223. *Rām* (Ed. Srinivasa Sastri, Bombay) Yuddha, Chap. LXXXI.

224. Like the 'Royal Army Medical Corps' and 'The Army Dental Corps' of the British army in modern times. Vide *Engine of War*. (England, 1941), pp. 77-8.

225. औषधानि च सर्वाणि मूलानि च फलानि च ।

चतुर्विधांशं वैद्वान् वै संगृह्णीयाद् विशेषतः ॥ *Mbh.* Śānti LXIX, 59.

See also *ibid.*, LIX, 56-9.

226. Dikshitar : *War in Ancient India*, p. 187.

227. चिकित्सकाः शस्त्रयन्त्रागतस्नेहवस्त्रहस्ताः, स्त्रियश्चान्नपानरक्षिण्यपुरुषाणां उद्धर्षणीयाः तिष्ठेयुः ॥ *Arthaśāstra* (Ed. Shamasastri, 1919) p. 369.

228. *Mbh.* Sabhā, XXIII, 4 refers to medicines which gave relief at the time of pain and brought consciousness in an unconscious state.

be set at liberty after they were completely cured.²²⁹ That a group of physicians accompanied the army at the time of the march is known from the Udyoga Parva. When the Pāṇḍava army marched towards Kurukṣetra, it was followed by physicians²³⁰. This information is corroborated from the next chapter of the Udyoga Parva, wherein the camp of the Pāṇḍava army has been described.²³¹ In the Bhīṣma Parva we find physicians attending on a wounded knight. When Bhīṣma was seriously injured by the Divyāstra of Arjuna, some expert physicians (*vaidyas*), trained in the art of healing the wounded portions of the body, attended him.²³² The Rāmāyaṇa also informs us that great care was taken of the wounded warriors.²³³

18. *Allowance for the Dependents of a Warrior*: A king should maintain the dependents of a warrior, killed in the battle while fighting.²³⁴ Yudhiṣṭhira observed this rule. He consoled the wives of such soldiers and gave them money for their subsistence.²³⁵

229. भग्नशस्त्रो विपन्नश्च कृतज्यो हतवाहनः ।

चिकित्स्यः स्यात्स्वविषये प्राप्यो वा स्वगृहे भवेत् ॥

निर्गणश्च स मोक्तव्यः एष धर्मः सनातनः ।

तस्माद्धर्मेण योद्धव्यं इति स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥ *Mbb.* Śānti, XCV, 13-4.

230. शकटापणवेशाश्च यानयुगं च सर्वशः ।

कोशं यन्त्रायुधं चैव ये च वैद्याश्चिकित्सकाः ॥ *Ibid.*, Udyoga, CLI, 58.

231. *Ibid.*, CLII, 12-4.

232. उपातिष्ठन्नयो वैद्याः शल्योद्धरणकोविदाः ॥

सर्वोपकरणैर्युक्ताः कुशलैः साधु शिक्षिताः । *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma, CXX, 55-6.

233. *Rām.* Yuddha, 50, 28 ff; VI, 102, 28, 41 etc. See also P. C. Dharma : *Rāmāyaṇa Polity*, p. 93.

234. कञ्चिद्दारात् मनुष्याणां तवार्थं मृत्युमीयुषाम् ।

व्यसनं चाभ्युपेतानां विमर्षि भरतर्षभ ॥ *Mbb.* Sabhā, V, 55.

235. सात्वयामास नारीश्च हतवीरा हतेश्वराः ।

विपुलैः अर्थदानैः स तदा पाण्डुसुतो नृपः ॥ *Ibid.*, Anuśāsana, CLXVII, 2.

19. *Conqueror and the Conquered*: According to the Mahābhārata the conqueror should not extend his territory by defeating his enemies. He should be satisfied if the latter accepted his suzerainty and agreed to pay him taxes regularly. It clearly says that a defeated king should never be dethroned. It praises a *Kṣatriya* who defeats his foe in the battle and thereafter sets him free.²³⁶ If the enemy is killed, lays down the Mahābhārata, his brother, son or grandson should be anointed.²³⁷ In the absence of a male successor, a female successor should be appointed to rule.²³⁸ If the successor is a minor or in womb, the conqueror should console the defeated subjects and look after the state affairs himself.²³⁹ Kālidāsa informs us that Raghu observed this rule.²⁴⁰ According to Śukra, the victorious king should ask his defeated enemy to pay him taxes and should take only a part of the kingdom, if necessary.²⁴¹ The Mahābhārata furnishes an example of this. After defeating Drupada, Droṇācārya

According to Dikshitar, "This (expense) was probably met from the state treasury". *War in Ancient India*, p. 78.

236. क्षत्रियः क्षत्रियं जित्वा रणे रणकृतां वरः ।

यो मुञ्चति वशे कृत्वा गुरुर्भवति तस्य सः ॥ *Mbb.* Sabhā, XXXVIII, 7.

237. तेषां पुराणि राष्ट्राणि गत्वा राजन् सुहृद्वृतः ।

भ्रातृन्पुत्रांश्च पौत्रांश्च स्वे स्वे राज्येऽभिषेचय ॥ *Ibid.*, Sānti, XXXIII, 43'.

238. कुमारो नास्ति येषां च कन्यास्तत्राभिषेचय ।

कामाशयो हि स्त्रीवर्गः शोकमेवं प्रहास्यति ॥ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 45.

239. बालानपि च गर्भस्थान्सान्त्वेत समुदाचरन् ।

रंजयन्प्रकृतिः सर्वाः परिपाहि वसुंधराम् ॥ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 44.

240. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 37, 43, 87.

241. दद्यात्कार्यानुरूपं च हृष्टो योधान्प्रहर्षयन् ।

विजयन्त्येव रिपून्नेवं समादद्यात्करांस्तथा ॥

राज्यांश्च वृ सर्वराज्यं नंदयित ततः प्रजाः ।

तूर्य भंगलक्षणेण स्वकीयं पुरमाविशेत् ॥ *Śukra*, IV, 1191.

divided his kingdom into two parts. The territory north to the Ganges was occupied by Droṇa and that to the South, was given to Drupada.²⁴² This shows that sometimes the conqueror brought a part of the conquered kingdom under his sway. The Sabhā Parva informs us that Yudhiṣṭhira's brothers went in different directions, reduced all kings to obedience and returned with great wealth. The defeated kings, however, accepted Yudhiṣṭhira's authority and ruled as usual.²⁴³ Karṇa also did the same thing.²⁴⁴

The insistence of ancient Indian thinkers that a defeated king should be allowed to retain his individuality in the feudal capacity, was for producing good results. It permitted its local culture, traditions and political institutions to develop undisturbed as usual.

Conqueror's duties : The Mahābhārata²⁴⁵ and the Manu Smṛti²⁴⁶ have both advised the conquerors to please, satisfy and console the *prakṛtis* (subjects) of a vanquished foe. He should perform the horse-sacrifice²⁴⁷ and make donations to the *Brāhmaṇas*.²⁴⁸ This was actually done by Yudhiṣṭhira. He performed a horse-sacrifice. Arjuna was assigned the work of following the horse. Yudhiṣṭhira instructed Arjuna not to fight against those whose relatives and friends

242. *Mbh.* Ādi, CXXXVIII, 68-70.

243. *Ibid.*, Sabhā, Chaps. XXV-XXXII; Virāṭa, LXX, 22-3.

244. *Ibid.*, Vana, Chap. CCLIV.

245. रंजयन्ब्रह्मकृतीः सर्वाः परिपाहि वसुन्धराम् । *Ibid.*, Śānti, XXXIII, 34.

246. सर्वेषां तु विदित्वैषां समासेन चिकीर्षितम् ।

स्थापयेत्तत्र तद्वश्यं कुर्याच्च समयक्रियाम् ॥ *Manu*, VII, 202. .

247. *Mbh.* Śānti XXXIII, 46.

248. *Ibid.*, XLV, 5 ff.

were killed in the War of Kurukṣetra.²⁴⁹ Arjuna acted accordingly.

20. *Regulations Regarding the Booties of War* : The booties of war are mainly of two types, movable and immovable. According to the Mahābhārata, the immovable property did not of right belong to the conqueror. Prātardana satisfied himself with the property of the vanquished foe and left his land untouched.²⁵⁰ Divodāsa has been censured because he took away with him even the things, connected with Agnihotra.²⁵¹ According to Gautama, the conqueror should take the conveyance and property of the defeated king.²⁵² After killing Duryodhana, the Pāṇḍava warriors entered the Kaurava camps and became very happy to bring the following under their control—treasury, heaps of jewels, silver, gold ornaments, blankets, servants and maid-servants.²⁵³ In the opinion of Śukra, a conqueror is the master of the movable property.²⁵⁴ Manu says that he can bring under his control the chariots, horses, elephants, umbrellas, animals, women, wealth and grain.²⁵⁵ The Viṣṇu Smṛti allows him to take

249. स हि वीरः प्रयास्यन् वै धर्मराजेन वारितः ।

हृत्बान्धवा न ते पार्थ हन्तव्याः पार्थिवा इति ॥ Ibid., Āśvamedhika, LXXIV, 7.

250 भूमिवर्जं धनं राजा जित्वा राजन्महाहवे ।

अपि चान्नौषधीः शश्वदाजहार प्रतर्दनः ॥ Ibid., Śānti, XCVI, 20.

251. अग्निहोत्राग्निशेषं च हविर्मोजनमेव च ।

आजहार दिवोदासस्ततो विप्रकृतोऽभवत् ॥ Ibid., XCVI, 21.

252. *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, X, 19-21. See also Maskari's commentary on these Sūtras.

253. *Mbh.* Śalya, LXII, 33-5.

254. भेदायितान् रिपुधनं गृहीत्वा दर्शयन्तु माम् ॥ *Śukra* (with com. by S. V. Bhattacharya) IV, 7, 386, p. 600.

255. रथाश्वं हस्तिनं छत्रं धन्यं धान्यं पशून्स्त्रियः ।

सर्वद्रव्याणि कुप्यं च यो यज्जयति तस्य तत् ॥ *Manu*, VII, 96.

a part of the looted property.²⁵⁶ A king should not accept the things brought by thieves. He should give cows to the *Brāhmaṇas*.²⁵⁷

Some Unfair Deaths in the Mahābhārata

1. *Death of Haṁsa and Āimbhaka*. Realizing the difficulty of defeating Jarāsandha, assisted by Haṁsa and Āimbhaka as his able ministers, Kṛṣṇa's side took recourse to unfair means. Balarāma killed a king, named Haṁsa. At this, a soldier from Kṛṣṇa's side dubiously proclaimed 'Haṁsa has been killed.' Hearing these words, Āimbhaka, suspicious of his brother's death, who was also named as Haṁsa jumped into the waters of River Yamunā and thus committed suicide. When Haṁsa came to know about the death of his brother, he also drowned himself in River Yamunā and met with his end. At the death of both of his ministers, Jarāsandha became depressed and returned to his kingdom, whereas Kṛṣṇa and others of his side lived happily in Mathurā.²⁵⁸

2. *Jarāsandha-Vadha*. Jarāsandha's strength was naturally adversely affected by the death of Haṁsa and Āimbhaka. Judging this to be the best opportunity for killing him, Kṛṣṇa, Bhīma and Arjuna went to Magadha, in the disguise of *Brāhmaṇas*. They were received cordially by Jarāsandha, who, however, doubted their *Brāhmaṇahood*. Kṛṣṇa told him that his two friends (Bhīma and Arjuna) had taken a vow to observe silence till the mid-night. In accordance with his considerate

256. राजा च प्रजाभ्यः सुकृतदुष्कृत षष्ठ्यांशमाक् । स्वदेशपण्याच्च शुल्कांशं दशममादद्यात् ।
परदेशपण्याच्च विंशतिम् ॥ *Viṣṇu Smṛti* (Ed. by Jolly, Calcutta, 1881), 3, 28-30.

257. *Mbh.* Śānti, XCVI, 6.

258. *Ibid.*, Sabbā, XIV, 33-45.

and respectful attitude towards *Brāhmaṇas*, Jarāsandha went to the guest house in the mid-night to pay his respects. Then and there Kṛṣṇa disclosed their identity and challenged him to fight. Jarāsandha agreed to do so. Finding Jarāsandha to be stronger than Bhīma in the encounter, Kṛṣṇa encouraged Bhīma to murder his adversary as early as possible. Thus stimulated by Kṛṣṇa, Bhīmasena took up the powerful Jarāsandha, whirled him on high for one hundred times fractured his back-bone and tore him in two pieces. Thus Jarāsandha met with his end.²⁵⁹

The account of the murder of Jarāsandha, as given in the southern recension of the Mahābhārata informs that Kṛṣṇa took recourse to a more serious fraud for the murder of Jarāsandha. According to this version, Kṛṣṇa took a branch of reed and tore it into two parts, indicating thereby that in the like manner Bhīma should tear Jarāsandha in twain and thus kill him. Following this hint, Bhīma did the same thing. But the two parts were found joined again. At this, Kṛṣṇa once more did the same thing with a branch of reed and this time he threw both the parts in different directions. Understanding its implication, Bhīma tore Jarāsandha in two parts and threw both the limbs in different directions and thus Jarāsandha was killed.²⁶⁰

The foregoing account leaves no doubt that Jarāsandha was killed deceitfully. Kṛṣṇa, Bhīmasena and Arjuna cheated Jarāsandha²⁶¹ by going to his palace in the garb of the *Brāhmaṇa-snātakas*, by telling a lie that Bhīmasena and Arjuna had taken a vow of observing silence till midnight by challenging Jarāsandha to engage in the combat with Bhīma at once

259. Ibid., Sabhā, Chaps, XX-XXIV.

260. Ibid., Chap. XXIV.

261. Ibid., XLII, 2-5.

and by tearing him in twain. Śiśupāla condemned the way in which Jarāsandha was slaughtered.²⁶²

3. *Bhīṣma-Vadha*. Well aware of the invincibility of Bhīṣma, Yudhiṣṭhira went to him and asked him the way, he could be killed.²⁶³ Bhīṣma told him that he could be slain only by Śikhaṇḍī, a hermaphrodite.²⁶⁴ He further said that as women should never be murdered, he would not reply to the attacks of Śikhaṇḍī, even if seriously injured by him.²⁶⁵ To Duryodhana also Bhīṣma told that he would not kill Śikhaṇḍī,²⁶⁶ and accordingly he neither attacked Śikhaṇḍī, nor replied to the attacks, made by the latter²⁶⁷. Śikhaṇḍī, however, was firmly determined to kill him. Moreover, he was encouraged by Arjuna to kill Bhīṣma and was assured of his help in completing this mission.²⁶⁸ Bhīṣma was attacked simultaneously by Śikhaṇḍī, Yudhiṣṭhira, Abhimanyu, Virāṭa, Drupada, Nakula, Sahadeva and several other warriors²⁶⁹. Dhṛṣṭadyumna told his soldiers over and over again to injure Bhīṣma simultaneously without being afraid of him.²⁷⁰ Arjuna was sure that Bhīṣma would not hurt Śikhaṇḍī. The Pāṇḍava army, headed by Arjuna and Śikhaṇḍī, rushed towards Bhīṣma.²⁷¹ Śikhaṇḍī began to injure

262. Ibid., Sabhā, XLII, 2.

263. Ibid., Ādi, I, 183-4; Bhīṣma, XLIII, 47.

264. Ibid., Ādi, CII; Udyoga, Chaps. CLXXIV, CLXXV, CLXXXVI, CXCI-CXCII; Strī, XXII, 23.

265. Ibid., Ādi, I, 183; Udyoga, CXCII, 69; Bhīṣma, CVII, 77-85; CXII, 18.

266. Ibid., Udyoga, CLXXII, 16 & 20; Bhīṣma, XCVIII, 19-22.

267. Ibid., LXIX, 29.

268. Ibid., CVIII, 39-60.

269. Ibid., CX, 1-7.

270. Ibid., CX, 20-23.

271. Ibid., CX, 18-9; CXII, 17; CXV, 17-22.

Bhīṣma,²⁷² but the latter did not raise arms against him, remembering his original sex.²⁷³ Arjuna went on injuring him with his sharp shafts from the back of Śikhaṇḍī.²⁷⁴ Ultimately, Bhīṣma fell down from his chariot.²⁷⁵

This account of Bhīṣma-*vadha* clearly shows that knowing Śikhaṇḍī to be a hermaphrodite, he had made up his mind not to attack him,²⁷⁶ and he did so even at the cost of his life. Thus, Bhīṣma strictly observed the military code which prohibits attacks on women. The way Bhīṣma was killed, is objectionable on account of the following reasons:-

- (i) Yudhiṣṭhira asked him the secret of his life.
- (ii) He was attacked by many warriors of the Pāṇḍava side, simultaneously.
- (iii) Arjuna attacked him from the back of Śikhaṇḍī.
- (iv) *Abhimanyu-Vadha*. The Kaurava side transgressed the code of fighting to kill Abhimanyu,²⁷⁷ who was sixteen. He was attacked simultaneously by Droṇa, Duryodhana, Kṛpācārya, Aśvatthāmā, Kṛtavarmā, Bṛhadbala and others, yet he could not be brought under control.²⁷⁸ Irritated at

272. Ibid., CXIX, 1, 84-5; CXVIII, 17-8.

273. Ibid., CXVII, 1-3; CXVIII, 50.

274. Ibid., CXVIII, 54; CXIX, 13-4.

275. Ibid., CXIX, 58-64, 87-8. For details regarding Bhīṣma-*vadha*, vide *ibid.*, Chaps. CVIII-CXIX.

276. According to *ibid.*, LXXV, 19, Bhīṣma broke away the bow of Śikhaṇḍī to make him weapon-less. This deed of Bhīṣma has been justified on the ground that being seriously injured, Bhīṣma only cut away the bow of Śikhaṇḍī. He did not deviate from his promise because he did not actually attack him. Vide f. n. on p. 2966 of the Gita Press Edition of the Mahābhārata.

277. Ibid., Droṇa, Chap. XLVIII-XLIX. and *ibid.*, LXXII, 1-15.

278. Ibid., XLVI, 6-7, 19-20; XLVII, 4, 6-7; XLVIII, 33-4; LXXIII, 10; LII, 3-4, 6.

this, the Kaurava warriors deprived him of all his war-
weapons as well as his chariot. Sitting on their chariots
they did not hesitate to attack Abhimanyu, who was standing
on ground. Ultimately, the son of Duḥśāsana hit Abhima-
nyu's head with a club. This resulted in his fall.

By killing Abhimanyu in this way, the Kauravas violated
the Epic code of fighting which says that a chariot-warrior
should not attack one, standing on ground and which forbids
simultaneous attack on one by many.²⁷⁹ This deviation
of the code of fighting by the Kauravas has been condemned
throughout the Epic and²⁸⁰ has evoked sympathies for
Abhimanyu.

5. *Bhūriśravā-Vadha*. Completely exhausted Sātyaki
was attacked and dragged by Bhūriśravā. At this, Kṛṣṇa
stimulated Arjuna to kill the latter. Accordingly, Arjuna
cut off an arm of Bhūriśravā²⁸¹. According to the Epic
laws of combat, one should not attack a warrior engaged with
someone else. On this basis Arjuna was guilty of transgress-
ing the code of fighting for which he was censured by
Bhūriśravā.²⁸² Arjuna justified his action by presenting the
following arguments :²⁸³

(i). Sātyaki deserved his protection, as he belonged to
his side and was fighting for his cause.

(ii). In a battle where several persons are fighting, it could
not be known that Sātyaki and Bhūriśravā were engaged in
duel encounter.

279. Vide Supra, pp. 264 ff.

280. Ibid., Droṇa, XLIX, 21-2; CXLIII, 43, 61.

281. Ibid., CXLII, 57-72.

282. Ibid., CXLIII, 1-15.

283. Ibid., CXLIII, 16-40.

(iii). Arjuna adopted the policy of tit for tat. Bhūriśravā violated the code of fighting by attacking Sātyaki who was completely exhausted, and hence, Arjuna paid him in the same coin.

No doubt, Bhūriśravā violated the code of fighting but this could not be a valid excuse for Arjuna's behaviour towards him. On the one hand, he justified this act and on the other, felt sorry for Bhūriśravā.²⁸⁴ This shows Arjuna's double-faced policy towards him.

The behaviour of Sātyaki towards the one-armed adversary will make a moralist shudder in despair. In spite of being prohibited by Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Bhīmasena, Yudhāmanyu, Uttamaujā, Aśvatthāmā, Kṛpācārya, Karṇa, Vṛṣasena and Jayadratha, Sātyaki cut off the head of Bhūriśravā,²⁸⁵ who had decided to fast unto death and had devoted himself to Yoga.²⁸⁶

For this act of theirs Arjuna and Sātyaki have been censured by the wife of Bhūriśravā²⁸⁷ and the Kaurava army.²⁸⁸ Kṛtavarmā also condemned this deed of Sātyaki²⁸⁹ and Somadatta went to the extent of calling it the 'conduct of demons' (*Dasyu-dharma*).²⁹⁰

6. *Jayadratha-Vadha* : Knowing from Yudhiṣṭhira that Jayadratha was mainly responsible for the death of Abhimanyu,²⁹¹ Arjuna got irritated at Jayadratha. As a revenge, he took a vow to kill Jayadratha the next

284. Ibid., CXLIII p. 3509 (Southern Recension, G. P. Edition).

285. Ibid., CXLIII, 49-55.

286. Ibid., CXLIII, 33-5.

287. Ibid., Strī, XXIV, 13-6.

288. Ibid., Droṇa, CXLIII, 36-8.

289. Ibid., Mausala, III, 21.

290. Ibid., Droṇa, CLVI, 2-3.

291. Ibid., LXXIII, 8-9.

day, if the latter did not submit himself to the former, or Kṛṣṇa or Yudhiṣṭhira²⁹² and to enter into fire if unsuccessful in killing him by the sunset.²⁹³

Knowing from spies about this vow of Arjuna, greatly frightened Jayadratha wanted to leave the battle-field, but did not do so, being assured of safety by Duryodhana and Droṇācārya.²⁹⁴ He was very well guarded by warriors of the Kaurava side. The sun was about to set. Kṛṣṇa realised that Jayadratha could not be slain without taking recourse to dubious means. He told Arjuna that he would create darkness hiding the sun thereby, to delude Jayadratha. Arjuna agreed to this. Accordingly, Kṛṣṇa created darkness which shrouded the sun. Jayadratha and others were greatly elated with joy, thinking that Arjuna would now enter into fire to keep up his vow. At that time Kṛṣṇa reminded Arjuna to avail himself of the opportunity of killing Jayadratha by chopping off his head.²⁹⁵ Arjuna did so, and thus, Jayadratha was killed.²⁹⁶ After this Kṛṣṇa removed the darkness and then only the Kaurava side could know that Kṛṣṇa had created that darkness for killing Jayadratha and saving the life of Arjuna.²⁹⁷

Thus Jayadratha was killed with the help of *māyā*, which was forbidden by the code of war. Over and above this, Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and other prominent warriors of the Paṇḍava side, blew their conch-shells,²⁹⁸ showing that their joy

292. Ibid., LXXIII, 20-21.

293. Ibid., LXXIII, 47.

294. Ibid., Chap. LXXIV.

295. Ibid., CXLVI, 61-73; 106-130.

296. Ibid., CXLVI, 120-2.

297. Ibid., CXLVI, 132-3.

298. Ibid., CXLVI, 136-42; Bhīṣma, XLIII, 63.

for killing Jayadratha was greater than their sorrow for the violation of the code of war.

7. *Droṇācārya-Vadha*. Realising the invincibility of Droṇācārya, Yudhiṣṭhira asked him the way he could be killed. Droṇācārya told him that he could be killed only if he gave up his arms after hearing some shocking news.²⁹⁹ Thereupon Kṛṣṇa suggested that somebody should wrongly tell Droṇācārya that his son Aśvatthāmā was killed, as this would be the most shocking news for him.³⁰⁰ The plan was actually operated,³⁰¹ when the elephant of the same name was killed. Although greatly shocked, Droṇācārya doubted the correctness of the news on second thought. Fully confident of the truthfulness of Yudhiṣṭhira, Droṇa went to him for verification.³⁰² Desirous of victory, Yudhiṣṭhira said clearly and loudly 'Aśvatthāmā has been killed' and dubiously 'the elephant of this name has been slaughtered'.³⁰³ Taking these words to be true Droṇācārya was greatly shocked. So much so that he gave up his weapons and devoted himself to Yoga. Dhṛṣṭadyumna judged this to be the best opportunity of killing him and went on attacking and injuring him, although people cried fie on him. But Dhṛṣṭadyumna was not satisfied with this much. He dragged Droṇa's head and cut it off from his body.³⁰⁴

299. Ibid., XLIII, 64-6.

300. Ibid., Droṇa, CXC, 12-3; CXCI, 51.

301. Ibid., LXC, 14-7.

302. Ibid., CXL, 42-4.

303. Ibid., CXCI, 57-9; CXC, 55-6. The 56th verse informs us that Yudhiṣṭhira's chariot used to stay four-fingers above the surface of the earth, but as Yudhiṣṭhira told a lie to Droṇācārya, his chariot began to touch the ground.

304. This account of Droṇa-vadha is based on ibid., Droṇa, Chaps. CXC-CXCII.

Instead of feeling sorry for the violation of the code of fighting, Dhṛṣṭadyumna justified his behaviour towards Droṇa.³⁰⁵ He and Bhīmasena were so happy that they joyfully embraced each other and began to dance.³⁰⁶ Arjuna, however, was sorry at this happening and accused Yudhiṣṭhira for cheating the respectable Droṇācārya. Dhṛṣṭadyumna was abused and criticised by Dhṛtarāṣṭra.³⁰⁷ Sātyaki insulted Dhṛṣṭadyumna for his immoral conduct³⁰⁸ and charged him of the murder of a *Brāhmaṇa* (*Brahma-batyā*),³⁰⁹ although he himself killed Bhūriśravā in the like manner. Thus Droṇa was killed unfairly.³¹⁰

8. *Duḥśāsana-Vadha*. Bhīmasena had taken the vow of drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana, his cousin brother. In the sanguinary War of Kurukṣetra, Bhīma attacked Duḥśāsana with a club. Duḥśāsana fell on the ground. Instead of showing mercy towards the fallen foe, as laid down in the Epic code of fighting, Bhīma abused and killed him. He chopped off an arm of Duḥśāsana and hit him with it. Not satisfied with this much, he tore his chest and actually quaffed his blood,³¹¹ which to him, was sweeter than the mother's milk or honey or clarified butter. Instead of feeling ashamed for his inhuman act, Bhīma was proud

305. Ibid., CXLVII, 24-44.

306. Ibid., CXCII, 79-80; CXCVI, 26-53.

307. Ibid., Ādi, I, 201; Droṇa, CXCVIII, 1-4.

308. Ibid., CXLVIII, 8-21.

309. Ibid., LXCVIII, 21-2.

310. Ibid., Droṇa, CXCIV, 1; CXCVI, 32-3.

311. In Ibid., Strī, XV, 15-6, Bhīṣma tells Gāndhārī that the blood of Duḥśāsana touched only his lips and he did not gulp it actually. Whether he actually quaffed it or not, we need not investigate. The very idea of drinking the human blood—and the blood of a cousin brother—is enough to make a moralist shudder in despair.

to have fulfilled his vow.³¹² People, who saw him behaving like a cannibal, doubted whether he was a human being or some other being.³¹³ But the Pāṇḍava side praised Bhīma for this unrighteous action also.³¹⁴ The Mahābhārata, however, repeatedly condemns this act of Bhīma.³¹⁵

9. *Karṇa-Vadha*. According to the Epic code of fighting, the opponent should be given equal facility and opportunity to fight. In killing Karṇa, Arjuna disregarded this rule, under the advice of Kṛṣṇa. Being severely injured by Arjuna, Karṇa fell unconscious. Arjuna hesitated to attack him in his unconscious state but Kṛṣṇa advised him not to be careless, because one achieved *Dharma* and glory by killing even a weak foe. He told Arjuna to slay Karṇa before he could recoup his energy.³¹⁶ Thus advised, Arjuna severely injured Karṇa. The left wheel of Karṇa's chariot began to sink in accordance with the curse of a *Brāhmaṇa* to Karṇa.³¹⁷ Karṇa was engaged in lifting up the sinking wheel of his chariot, and Arjuna, under the advice of Lord Kṛṣṇa, went on attacking him constantly. Karṇa objected to it. He asked Arjuna to stop fighting for a while and to resume it when he also was in a position to response. Without caring for his objection, Arjuna chopped off his head.³¹⁸ Thus

312. Ibid., Karṇa, Chap, LXXXIII.

313. Ibid., LXXXIII, 35.

314. Ibid., Śalya, LXI, 12.

315. Ibid., Strī, XV, 13-4; XVIII, 28.

316. Ibid., Karṇa, XC, 69-72.

317. The incident has been described in *ibid.* Śānti, II, 19-28 as follows : A milch cow of a *Brāhmaṇa* was killed by Karṇa, indeliberately. The *Brāhmaṇa* got very angry and cursed that Karṇa would be slain by his enemy while the wheel of his chariot would be sinking down. Ibid, Karṇa, XLII, 40-41.

318. Ibid., Chap^s. XC-XCI.

Karṇa, who remembering his promise made before Kuntī,³¹⁹ did not kill Nakula,³²⁰ Bhīmasena³²¹ and Sahadeva, even when they were under his control, was killed unfairly by Arjuna.³²²

For Arjuna's behaviour towards Karṇa, the Mahābhārata rightly calls him a tyrant (*ātātāyī*),³²³ although Kṛṣṇa regarded it as a source of fame for him.³²⁴

10. *Duryodhana-Vadha*. On the eighteenth day of the War of Kurukṣetra, Duryodhana found himself all alone against the two thousand chariots, seven hundred elephants, five thousand horses and ten thousand infantry soldiers of the Pāṇḍavas.³²⁵ He fled away from the battle-field and entered the Dvaipāyana Lake, solidifying the water thereof. Knowing the whereabouts of Duryodhana from a hunter, the Pāṇḍavas, accompanied by Kṛṣṇa, went to that lake. Reaching there, Yudhiṣṭhira woke him up, abused him and challenged him to fight. Duryodhana expressed his inability to do so because he had no military equipment with him, whereas the Pāṇḍavas had chariots, elephants, horses and different war-weapons with them. Moreover, he was only one in number whereas they were many. He reminded them that the military code did not permit attack on one by many. But being insisted by the Pāṇḍavas, he had to fight. He came out of the lake and told Yudhiṣṭhira that he was only

319. Ibid., Udyoga, CXLVI, 23, 27.

320. Ibid., Karṇa, XXIV, 51.

321. Ibid., Droṇa, CXXXIX, 92.

322. Ibid., CLXVII, 20.

323. Ibid., Karṇa, XCI, 49-50.

324. Ibid., XCVI, 4.

325. Kṛpācārya, Kṛtavarmā and Aśvatthāmā were also alive, but as they had left the battle-field and did not contact Duryodhana, he thought that all except him were killed in the battle.

one and should be attacked by one. After some discussion it was decided that Bhīmasena would face Duryodhana in the club-fight (*Gādā-Yuddha*). In the mace encounter, however, Duryodhana appeared stronger than Bhīmasena. Seeing this Pāṇḍavas became greatly depressed. Kṛṣṇa told Arjuna that Bhīmasena could not defeat Duryodhana without taking recourse to unfair means. Hearing these words from Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna struck his own thigh, thereby indicating Bhīma that he should injure Duryodhana's thigh with the mace. Following this hint, Bhīmasena hit Duryodhana below the belt which was forbidden by the rules of club fight.³²⁶ Consequently, Duryodhana's thighs were seriously fractured and he fell down on the ground. Bhīmasena went near him, took up his mace and struck with his left foot the head of Duryodhana. He cried fie upon Duryodhana, reminding him his previous undesirable behaviour towards Draupadī and the Pāṇḍavas.³²⁷

The Pāṇḍavas and the Somakas were filled with joy at this incident.³²⁸ Balarāma, who had taught *gādā-yuddha* to Bhīma and Duryodhana,³²⁹ got so much annoyed at Bhīma's behaviour that he attempted to attack him with his plough. Kṛṣṇa, however, interfered and thus Bhīma was saved. Balarāma called Bhīma a 'deceitful warrior' (*Jihma-yoddhā*).³³⁰ Aśvatthāmā also censured Bhīma for his behaviour towards Duryodhana.³³¹

326. अघो नाम्ना न हन्तव्यमिति शास्त्रस्य निश्चयः । Ibid. Śalya, XC, 6.

327. This account is based on ibid. Chaps. XXIX-LIII, LIV-LXI.

328. Ibid., LIX, 1-2.

329. Ibid., XXXIV, 4, 17, 18; LV, 34.

330. Ibid., LIX, 3-11, 20-23, 26-30.

331. Ibid., Sautpika, I, 61.

Yudhiṣṭhira, however, adopted a dual policy in this connection. At one place he told Bhīma not to kick the head of the fallen Duryodhana,³³² and at another he congratulated Bhīma for defeating Duryodhana.³³³ The Pāṇḍavas and the Śrījayas also applauded Bhīma for this. They waved their clothes, blew their conch-shells and beat their drums out of joy and excitement.³³⁴ Kṛṣṇa asked them not to behave in that way,³³⁵ though he himself was responsible for the defeat and death of Duryodhana. For this he was even praised by Yudhiṣṭhira.³³⁶

Praying Gāndhārī to excuse him, Bhīmasena admitted that he did not hesitate to kill Duryodhana even unfairly, because of his earnest desire to regain the kingdom, and because he remembered the misdeeds of Duryodhana and his vow for killing him.³³⁷

11. *Saṃpātika-Vadha*. Āśvatthāmā got highly irritated when he knew that Duryodhana's thighs were unfairly fractured by Bhīma. Accompanied by Kṛtavarmā and Kṛpācārya he went to a dense forest. There he saw an owl, attacking and killing the sleeping crows in the night. This deed of the owl proved highly suggestive to Āśvatthāmā, who made up his mind to attack the Pāṇḍava warriors, while they were asleep. Kṛpācārya and Kṛtavarmā, however, did not approve of this, but Āśvatthāmā's decision could not be altered. Ultimately, Kṛpācārya and Kṛtavarmā yielded and the three made their plan. Accordingly they went to the Pāṇḍavas' camp in the night. Kṛpācārya and

332. Ibid., Śalya XC, 35-8.

333. Ibid., XC, 47-8.

334. Ibid., XCI, 2-16.

335. Ibid., XCI, 17-9.

336. Ibid., Āśvamedhika, LII, 17-8.

337. Ibid., Strī, XV, 1-20.

Kṛtavarmā stood at the gate so that nobody could enter or escape, while Aśvatthāmā went inside and killed the occupants of the camp. After achieving this demonial success, Aśvatthāmā, Kṛpācārya and Kṛtavarmā were highly delighted.³³⁸

Thus to avenge the unfair fall of Duryodhana the heinous sin of slaughtering sleeping persons was committed by the three survivors of the Kaurava side.

The Number of Casualties : On the eighteenth and the last day of the War of Kurukṣetra, the number of the various sections of the surviving Pāṇḍava army was as follows: Elephantry—700, charioteery—2,000, cavalry—5000, and infantry 10,000.³³⁹

From the figures of the surviving Pāṇḍava army given above, the number of casualties seems to have been very high. It must have been a veritable massacre which was unjustifiable on the following grounds : (1) killing innocent soldiers in a large number and, (2) murdering the sleeping warriors surprisingly. But there was no feeling of remorse in the murderers. With pleasure and pride Aśvatthāmā related the whole story to Duryodhana.³⁴⁰ The latter also was filled with joy and considered himself equal of Indra at this demonial achievement of Aśvatthāmā, Kṛpācārya and Kṛtavarmā.³⁴¹

In this connection, an interesting information furnished, by the Śalya Parva, attracts our attention. The scene of the 63rd chapter of this parva is the royal palace at Hastināpura. Therein Kṛṣṇa has been depicted as consoling Dhṛtarāṣṭra

338. Ibid., Śalya, Chap. LXV; Sauptika, Chaps. I-IX.

339. Ibid., Śalya, XXIX, 22-3.

340. Ibid., Sauptika, IX, 48-51.

341. Ibid., IX, 53-5.

and Gāndhārī and pleading for the Pāṇḍavas. All of a sudden Kṛṣṇa stood up in haste and bowing before Vyāsa wanted to take leave. He told them that Aśvatthāmā had planned to kill the Pāṇḍavas while the latter were asleep. Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī told him to go immediately and to save the Pāṇḍavas.³⁴² Kṛṣṇa, who came to know about Aśvatthāmā's device, through some mysterious process asked the five Pāṇḍava brothers and Sātyaki to pass that night at the bank of the river Oghavatī, for their welfare.³⁴³ They did accordingly and thus escaped the misfortune, caused by Aśvatthāmā.

What strikes us most is the attitude of Kṛṣṇa towards this incident. If he had foreseen the event, he should have arranged for the protection of all the warriors of the Pāṇḍava side and not only of seven persons, viz. Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīmasena, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadeva, Sātyaki and himself. He could have asked all the remaining warriors to be prepared for Aśvatthāmā's attack by surprise or he could have suggested some other device and thus avoided the occurrence of such a heinous incident. This silence of the great diplomat Kṛṣṇa seems to be a difficult riddle to solve.

The main theme of the Mahābhārata being the War of Kurukṣetra, it lays due emphasis on the nature of war and the methods by which it should be waged. For a war to be righteous, it should be waged for a righteous cause and by righteous methods. For the latter, the Mahābhārata gives a code of fighting, which was prevalent from before. Perhaps it was not of universal application. The contending parties of the War of Kurukṣetra, through their leaders, agreed upon certain principles in accordance with which they were to fight.

342. Ibid., Śalya, LXIII, 71-8.

343. Ibid., LXII, 37-9.

The object of the code of fighting was to make the war less horrible.

We do not know how the common soldiers behaved, but we have got a detailed account of the way in which the leaders of the fighting forces behaved towards one another. Almost all of them were guilty of the violation of the ethics of war which they had themselves agreed upon before the commencement of war. Duryodhana, Duḥśāsana, Śakuni, Kṛpācārya, Kṛtavarmā, Aśvatthāmā, Karna, Droṇa and Bhīṣma on the Kaurava side and Dharmarāja Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, Bhīma, Śikhaṇḍi, Sātyaki, Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna on the Pāṇḍava side are a few important names which can be mentioned in this connection. The Pāṇḍavas violated the code of fighting mostly under the advice of Lord Kṛṣṇa himself.

Though the ethics of war was sometimes not observed in practice yet no serious attempt has been made in the Māhābhārata to justify the violation of the code of fighting. Sometimes the person, guilty of violation justified his conduct on the basis of tit for tat and many of his friends and followers felt happy over the victory achieved. This was, however, no justification of the warfare by unrighteous method. To take a resume, the ideal fell short of practice and the only ideal, which seems to have been before the combating armies, was to secure victory by any means. In practice, the means justified the end.

CHAPTER X
ĀPADDHARMA
(MORALITY UNDER
ABNORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES)

As remarked earlier,¹ the Mahābhārata does not believe in the universality or uniformity of moral standard, which according to it, varies in conformity with the change of time, place, circumstances and other factors. According to it every situation carries its own morals. Abnormal circumstances justify resort to abnormal expedients. The code of conduct, prescribed for times of distress (*Āpattikāla*) has been styled *Āpaddharma* in the Mahābhārata.² In clearcut terms, Bhīṣma tells Yudhiṣṭhira that the duties of those men, who are able and competent (i. e. who are under ordinary circumstances) are different from those, who have fallen in

1. Supra, Chap. III, pp. 97 ff.

2. भवत्यधर्मो धर्मो हि धर्माधर्मावुभावपि ।

कारणाद्देशकालस्य देशकालः स तादृशः ॥ *Mbh. Śānti*, LXXXVIII, 32.

आपद्गतेन धर्माणामन्यायेनोपजीवनम् । *Ibid.*, CXXX, 25.

अद्वैधज्ञः पथि द्वैधे संशयं प्राप्तुमर्हति ।

बुद्धिद्वैधं वेदितव्यं पुरस्तादेव भारत ॥ *Ibid.*, CXLII, 8.

Commenting on this *śloka*, Nilakaṇṭha explains *dvaidha* in these words: द्वैधं एकस्यैव कर्मणः क्वचित्काले धर्मत्वं क्वचिदधर्मत्वं इति द्विप्रकारत्वं, तस्मिन्प्राप्ते तदनभिज्ञः संशयं संकटं प्राप्नोति ।

distress.³ This is quite in the fitness of things, because what is true of a healthy man is not true of a patient. In the same way what is true of a man in famine is not true of a man in a good season. Of the changing morality, the Epic advises one to neglect *svadharma* and adopt others' professions, if unable to maintain himself by the former. It condemns that person, who does not follow *svadharma* in ordinary times as well as that, who sticks to *svadharma* even in times of distress.⁴ It lacks consistency as regards the place of *Dharma* under abnormal circumstances. At some places it says that one is not censured by taking recourse to the otherwise prohibited deeds⁵ and at others it lays down that the prohibited (*nindita*) acts should not be done.⁶ One, who follows *Dharma* even in the *āpattikāla*, is the foremost among those, who are conversant with *Dharma*.⁷ These contradictory statements can be reconciled by saying that although the Epic prescribes a different moral standard for the time of distress, it allows one to violate *Dharma* only as the last resort.

Āpattikāla (time of distress) for a King : The Mahābhārata mentions the circumstances, under which a king was regarded

3. अन्यो धर्मः समर्थानामपत्स्वन्यश्च भारत । Ibid., CXXX, 14.

तस्मादापत्स्वधर्मोऽपि श्रूयते धर्मलक्षणः ॥ Ibid., CXXX, 16.

4. लुप्तायां तु प्रकृतौ येन कर्म निष्पादयेत् तत्परीप्सेद् विहीनः ।

प्रकृतिस्थश्चापि वर्तमान उमौ गह्वौ भवतः संजयेतौ ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, XXVIII, 4.

5. विज्ञानबलपूतो यो वर्तते निन्दितेष्वपि ।

वृत्तिविज्ञानवान् धीरः कस्तं वक्तुमर्हति ॥ Ibid., Śānti, CXXXII, 6.

6. कुर्यान्न निन्दितं कर्म न नृशंसं कथञ्चन ।

इति पूर्वे महात्मान आपद्धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ Ibid., Ādi, CLX, 11.

Cf. सम्यक्सद्धर्ममूला वै व्यसने शान्तिरुत्तमा ।

अधर्मोत्तरतां नाम कृत्स्नं व्यापादयेज्जगत् । Ibid., XXXVII, 20.

7. आपत्सु यो धारयति धर्मं धर्मविदुत्तमः । Ibid., CLV, 14.

to have fallen into distress (*āpatti*) and was allowed to follow *Āpaddharma*. A king was taken to be in distress as a result of some internal and external causes, i. e. in case his treasury was not rich⁸; his ministers were corrupt for which reason he was deprived of good counsel⁹; his enemies had succeeded in creating dissension among his ministers; he had any doubt about the character of his ministers; he saw no way to gain prosperity; his military strength was not satisfactory, i. e. was weak; out of attachment and compassion, he did not want his friends and relatives to join the army; he himself was lethargic; he did not possess a good character and did not have a knowledge of time (*kāla*) and place (*deśa*), his secret counsels and plans happened to be announced; the number of his friends was decreasing and that of enemies increasing; he was attacked by a powerful foe while engaged in vanquishing the kingdom of another adversary; he was not in a position to use the policies of *Sāma* and *Bheda*; his enemies had managed to divide his kingdom and to have control over some parts thereof; he was troubled by a powerful foe; he was attacked by many hostile kings simultaneously or his allies turned to be inimical.¹⁰

A King's Duties in Āpattikāla : In the *Āpattikāla*, protection of life (*prāṇa-rakṣā*) was deemed to be the most important duty of every body. Hence, a person was allowed and advised to do even improper and forbidden acts and to take recourse to the otherwise condemned means and methods

8. The success of a state was dependent on its treasury. Vide *Infra* F. N. 25 of this Chapter.

9. It was very difficult, almost impossible, to rule a kingdom all alone, i. e. without ministers.

See *Mbh.* Śānti, CVI, 11; CXIII, 26; CXI, 22; *Manu*, VII, 55. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 7, 15; *Śukra*, II, 1.

10. *Mbh.* Śānti, CXXX, 1-4; CXXXI, 1-3, 9; CXXXVIII, 4 ff.

for this purpose. When the calamity was over, he was to perform purificatory rites, observe fasts and practise self-restraint with a view to liberating himself from the sins, committed during the *Āpattikāla* by doing the prohibited deeds. The Mahābhārata attaches so much importance to *prāṇa-rakṣā* because, according to it, it is necessary to live if one wants to observe *Dharma*. In other words, life is the means to attain *punya* (merits).¹¹ A similar view has been expressed by Kālidāsa also in his *Kumārasambhavam*.¹²

At another place stressing the protection of life, defence of kingdom and avoidance of defeat in *Āpattikāla*, the Mahābhārata is more explicit. It says that a king should protect his life at any cost. For this, he should not hesitate to give up his family-members, kingdom and wealth. One, who is alive, can have chances to restore the kingdom and

11. येन येन विशेषेण कर्मणा येन केनचित् ।

अभ्युज्जीवेत् साद्यमानः समर्थो धर्ममाचरेत् ॥

यथा यथैवं जीवेद्भि तत् कर्तव्यमहैलया ।

जीवितं मरणाच्छ्रेयो जीवन्धर्ममवानुयात् ॥

स्थाने भवेत् संशयः प्रेत्यभावे निःसंशयः कर्मणां वै विनाशः ।

अहं पुनर्नृतनित्यः शमात्मा मूलं रक्ष्यं भक्षयिष्याम्यभक्ष्यम् ॥

अद्याहमेतद् वृजिनं कर्म कृत्वा जीवंश्चरिष्यामि महापवित्रम् ।

स पूतात्मा धर्ममेवाभिपत्स्ये..... ॥

एवं विद्वानदीनात्मा व्यसनस्थो जिजीविषुः ।

सर्वोपायैरुपायज्ञो दीनमात्मानमुद्धरेत् ॥

एतां बुद्धि समास्थाय जीवितव्यं सदा भवेत् ।

जीवन् पुण्यमवाप्नोति पुरुषो भद्रमश्नुते ॥ Ibid., Śānti, CXLI, 63, 65, 79, 86, 100-101.

इह क्षेत्रे क्रियते पार्थ कार्यः न वै किञ्चित् क्रियते प्रेत्य कार्यम् । Ibid. Udyoga, XXXIII, 37. See also ibid, CXXXI, 7-8.

12. शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्मसाधनम् । *Kumārasambhavam* (Ed. S. N. S. Khiste and S. D. Misra, Banaras, 1952), V, 33.

wealth, taken by the enemy.¹³ In doing so the king should act in such a way that all of his merits (*punyas*) are not destroyed. He should see that he violates *Dharma* in the least possible degree.¹⁴ In doing those acts which are condemned in ordinary times, he does not incur sin.¹⁵

A king should not lose patience in *Āpattikāla* and should not be careless (*pramatta*). One, who follows this advice and does not give up exertion (*udyoga*) under such circumstances, succeeds in defeating his enemies.¹⁶ He should not be lethargic. To emphasise this the Mahābhārata narrates the

-
13. आत्मार्थे संततिस्त्याज्या राज्यं रत्नं धनानि च ॥
 अपि सर्वस्वमुत्सृज्य रक्षेदात्मानमात्मना ।
 ऐश्वर्यधनरत्नानां प्रत्यमित्रे निवर्तताम् ॥
 दृष्टा हि पुनरावृत्तिर्जीवितामिति नः श्रुतम् ।
 न त्वात्मनः सम्प्रदानं धनरत्नवदिष्यते ॥
 आत्मा हि सर्वदा रक्ष्यो दारैरपि धनैरपि ।
 तस्मात्सर्वास्ववस्थायु रक्षेज्जीवितमात्मनः ॥
 द्रव्याणि संततिश्चैव सर्वं भवति जीवितः । *Mbb. Śānti, CXXXVIII, 178-81, 195-6.*
14. यथास्य धर्मो न ग्लायन्नेयाच्छत्रुवशं यथा ।
 तत् कर्तव्यमिहेत्याहुर्नात्मानमवसादयेत् ॥
 सर्वात्मनैव धर्मस्य न परस्य न चात्मनः ।
 सर्वोपायैरुज्जिहीर्षेदात्मानमिति निश्चयः ॥
 तत्र धर्मविदां तात निश्चयो धर्मनैपुणम् ।
 उद्यमो नैपुणं क्षात्रे बाहुवीर्यादिति श्रुतिः ॥ *Ibid., CXXX, 17-9.*
 आपद्विनाशमूयिष्ठं गतैः कार्यं हि जीवितम् । *Ibid., CXXXVIII, 36.*
15. विज्ञानबलपूतो यो वर्तते निन्दितेष्वपि ।
 वृत्तिविज्ञानवान् धीरः कस्तं वा वक्तुमर्हति ॥ *Ibid., CXXXII, 6.*
16. प्राप्यापदं न व्यथते कदाचिदुद्योगमन्विच्छति चाप्रमत्तः ।
 दुःखं च काले सहते महात्मा धुरन्धरस्य जिताः सपत्नाः ॥ *Ibid., Udyoga, XXXIII, 107.*

story of three fishes.¹⁷ He should not waste time, should counsel wisely and should display his power properly. He should fight and flight with ability.¹⁸ Even after being overtaken by calamities he should not neglect his treasury, the rod of chastisement (for restraining the wicked) army and his allies.¹⁹ He should decide his duties in accordance with *deśa* (place) and *kāla* (time).²⁰

As in ordinary times, so in distress also, it was an important duty of a king to restrain and check the wicked (by punishing them) and to respect and maintain the noble ones.

-
17. It is said that once upon a time, three fishes, which were friends, were living in a water-reservoir. Out of those three, one was wise and possessed of foresight (*dirghakālajñāḥ*), one was possessed of extempore improvisation (*pratyutpannamatī*) and the third one was lethargic (*dirghasūtrī*). One day some fishermen came there. With a view to catching the fishes living in that water-reservoir, they began to drain out water therefrom. Seeing this, the first fish apprehended danger and told the other two fishes about the same. At this the second fish said that there was nothing to worry about, because if necessary, that fish would search out a device to save its life. The third fish, that was lethargic, said that there was nothing to hurry up. Hence, the first fish left that pond. Meanwhile the fishermen spread their net. Seeing its life in danger, the second fish discovered a way for saving its life. It held the net from its mouth and posed to have been caught and when the fishermen spread the net at another pond, it set itself free. The third fish was caught by them and consequently it met with its end. Ibid., Śānti, Chap. CXXXVII.

18. सुमन्त्रितं सुविक्रान्तं सुयुद्धं सुपलायितम् ।
आपदास्पदकाले तु कुर्वीत न विचारयेत् ॥ Ibid., CXL, 12.
19. कोशं दण्डं बलं मित्रं यदन्यदपि संचितम् ।
न कुर्वीतानन्तरं राष्ट्रं राजा परिगतः क्षुधा ॥ Ibid., CXXX, 32.
20. देशं कालं च विज्ञाय कार्याकार्यविनिश्चये । Ibid., CXXXVIII, 14.

According to Bhīṣma, this was the view of Śukra.²¹ Even under abnormal circumstances, he should not oppress *Ācāryas*, *Ṛtvijas*, *Purohitas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and those, deserving respect.²² He should attend the *Brāhmaṇas*, who were of good character and good conduct and whose acts were noble. He should behave towards them in the same way in which he behaved towards gods, because if propitiated they do good to a state and if annoyed, they prove to be as dangerous as poison.²³

Treasury (koṣa) and Taxation (kara) : Ancient Indian writers regarded treasury as one of the seven constituents (*aṅgas*) of the state.²⁴ They attached great importance to it. According to the *Mahābhārata* treasury is at the root of a king's authority, strength (army and police, necessary to protect a kingdom from external and internal dangers) and *Dharma*, upon which (the welfare and prosperity of the) people depend.²⁵ A rich treasury helps in the progress of a state. Hence a king should try to enrich the treasury with

-
21. अशिष्टनिग्रहो नित्यं शिष्टस्य परिपालनम् ।
एवं शुक्रोऽब्रवीद् धीमानापत्सु भरतर्षभ ॥ Ibid., CXLII, 34.
22. ऋत्विगुरोहिताचार्यान् सत्कृतानभिसत्कृतान् ।
न ब्राह्मणान् घातयीत दोषान् प्राप्नोति घातयन् ॥ Ibid., CXXXII, 9.
23. ब्राह्मणानेव सेवेत विद्यावृद्धांस्तपस्विनः ।
श्रुतचारित्रवृत्ताद्यान् पवित्रं ह्येतदुत्तमम् ॥
या देवतासु वृत्तिस्ते सास्तु विप्रेषु नित्यदा ।
क्रुद्धैर्हि विप्रैः कर्माणि कृतानि बहुधा नृप ॥
प्रीत्या यशो भवेन्मुख्यमप्रीत्या परमं भयम् ।
प्रीत्या ह्यमृतवद् विप्राः क्रुद्धाश्चैव विषं यथा ॥ Ibid., CXLII, 36-8.
24. See Supra, Chap. IV, pp. 103 ff.
25. राज्ञः कोशवलं मूलं कोशमूलं पुनर्वलम् ।
तन्मूलं सर्वधर्माणां धर्ममूलाः पुनः प्रजाः ॥ Ibid., CXXX, 35.

special care.²⁶ Similar is the view of the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya²⁷ and the Nītisāra of Śukra.²⁸

With a view to enriching the treasury, a king was given the power to levy taxes. Certain rules and regulations were laid down for the convenience of the ruled and for preventing the king from becoming a despot and ruling arbitrarily. The Mahābhārata gives the principles of taxation in considerable details. According to it, taxes should not be heavy and the rate of taxation should be increased gradually.²⁹ He should realise taxes from them like a gardener, who plucks flowers but does not destroy plants like an *aṅgārika* (charcoal-maker).³⁰ This means that in levying taxes a king should

26. कोषश्च सततं रक्ष्यो यत्नमास्थाय राजभिः ।

कोशमूला हि राजानः कोषः वृद्धिकरो भवेत् ॥ Ibid. CXIX, 16.

Cf. राज्ञः कोषक्षयादेव जायते बलसंक्षयः । Ibid., CXXX, 13.

अधनं दुर्वलं प्रादुर्धनेन बलवान् भवेत् ।

सर्वं धनवता प्राप्यं सर्वं तरति कोशवान् ॥

कोशेन धर्मः कामश्च परलोकस्तथा ह्ययम् ॥ Ibid., CXXX, 49-50.

यो ह्यनादयः स पतितस्तदुच्छिष्टं यदल्पकम् । Ibid., CXXXIV, 4.

27. अर्थ एव प्रधान इति कौटिल्यः । अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति ।

Ibid., I, 7, 10-11.

कोषपूर्वाः समारम्भाः । तस्मात्पूर्वं कोषमवेक्षेत । Ibid., II, 8, 1-2.

28. बलं प्रजारक्षणार्थं यज्ञार्थं कोशसंग्रहः । Śukra, IV, 118.

29. अल्पेनाल्पेन देयेन वर्धमानं प्रदापयेत् ।

ततो भूयस्ततो भूयः क्रमवृद्धिं समाचरेत् ॥

दमयन्निव दम्यानि शाश्वद् भारं विवर्धयेत् ।

मृदुपूर्वं प्रयत्नेन पाशानभ्यवहारयेत् ॥ Mbb. Śānti, LXXXVIII, 7-8.

30. मालाकारोपमो राजन् भव माङ्गारिकोपमः । Ibid., LXXI, 20.

पुष्पं पुष्पं विचिन्वीत मूलच्छेदं न कारयेत् ।

मालाकार इवारामे न यथाङ्गारकारकः ॥ Ibid., Udyoga, XXXIV, 18.

Cf. मालाकारस्य वृत्त्यैव स्वप्रजारक्षणेन च ।

शत्रुं हि करदीकृत्य तद्धनैः कोशवर्धनम् ।

take care of his people like a gardener, who while plucking flowers, takes care of the plants. He should be like a calf that sucks the udders of a cow but does not cut the same.³¹ Like a bee, that collects honey from flowers, he should tax them little by little.³² He should not, as it were, cut his root (by becoming unpopular) as a result of levying heavy taxes out of greed.³³ He should realise taxes without doing harm or giving pain or causing inconvenience to the people. According to Bhīṣma like a she tiger that carries its little ones in her mouth, without causing them any harm, a king should realise taxes without troubling his people.³⁴

करोति सः नृपः श्रेष्ठो.....।

मालाकार इव ग्राह्यो भागो नांगारकारवत् । *Sukra*, IV, 133-4, 223.

31. वत्सौपम्येन दोग्धव्यं राष्ट्रमक्लीवबुद्धिना ।
भृतो वत्सो जातबलं पीडां सहति भारत ॥
न कर्म कुरुते वत्सो भृशं दुग्धो युधिष्ठिर ॥
राष्ट्रमप्यतिदुग्धं हि न कर्म कुरुते महत् । *Mbh. Śānti*, LXXXVII, 20-22.
वत्सापेक्षी दुहेच्चैव स्तनांश्च न विकुट्टयेत् । *Ibid.*, LXXXVIII, 4. See also *ibid.*, LXXI, 16.
32. यथा मधु समादत्ते रक्षन् पुष्पाणि षट्पदः ।
तद्वदर्थान् मनुष्येभ्यः आदद्यादविहिसया ॥ *Ibid.*, Udyoga, XXXIV, 17.
मधुद्रोहं दुहेद्राष्ट्रं भ्रमरा इव पादपम् । *Ibid.*, Śānti, LXXXVIII, 4.
33. संवेक्ष्य तु तथा राज्ञा प्रणेयाः सततं कराः ।
नोच्छ्रद्यादात्मनो मूलं परेषांचातितृष्णया ॥ *Ibid.*, LXXXVII, 18.
See also *ibid.*, LXXI, 15.
Cf. नोच्छ्रद्यादात्मनो मूलं परेषां चातितृष्णया ।
उच्छ्रिन्दन् ह्यात्मनो मूलमात्मानं तांश्च पीडयेत् ॥ *Manu*, VII, 139.
न कर्षयेत्प्रजा कार्यमितश्च नृपः सदा । *Sukra*, II, 226.
34. व्याघ्रीव च हरेत्पुत्रान्संदशेन च पीडयेत् । *Mbh. Śānti*, LXXXVIII, 8.

The Mahābhārata³⁵ and the Manu Smṛti³⁶ are one in saying that like a leech, that gradually sucks blood from body, a king should collect taxes slowly and slowly and little by little. He should not levy many taxes. Taxes should be levied in accordance with the capacity of the people.³⁷ A king, who does not bear this point in mind has been called 'Atikbādī' (one, who eats too much) in the Mahābhārata and has been condemned. People oppose such a ruler.³⁸ The king should levy taxes on different articles of trade and industrial and art products according to their cost and profit.³⁹

According to the Mahābhārata, a Brāhmaṇa's property should never be taken by a king.⁴⁰ Others, exempted are old persons, blind persons, children and weeping ladies, who have fallen in distress.⁴¹

35. यथा शल्यकवानाखुः पदं धूनयते सदा ।

अतीक्ष्णेनाभ्युपायेन तथा राष्ट्रं समापिबेत् ॥ Ibid., LXXXVIII, 6.

36. यथात्पाल्पवदन्त्याद्यं वार्याकोवत्सवषट्पदाः ।

तथात्पाल्पोग्रहीतव्यो राष्ट्राद्राज्ञाद्विकः करः ॥ Manu, VII, 129.

37. आनुपूर्व्येण सान्त्वेन यथाकालं यथाविधि । Mbb. Śānti, LXXXVIII, 12.

See also Ibid. LXXXIX, 23-4.

38. प्रद्विषन्ति परिहृयातं राजानमतिखादिनम् । Ibid., LXXXVII, 19.

39. For details see Ibid., LXXXVII, 14, 16-8, 35; Gautama Dharma Sūtra, X, 23-42; Manu, VII, 127-32, 37-8; Śukra, IV, 219—21, 225-40.

40. Mbb. Anuśāsana, CI, 5 ff.

41. वृद्धबालघनं रक्ष्यमन्वस्य कृपणस्य च ।

न खातपूर्वं कुर्वीत न रुदन्ती घनं हरेत् ॥ Ibid., LXI, 25.

For details about taxation See ibid. Śānti, LXXI, 10-20; LXXXVII, 13-6, 35-6; LXXXVIII, 12; CXX, 44; Anuśāsana, LXI, 23; Kāmandaka, V, 84, 87; Śukra, I, 210-11; II, 264; Nītiśataka, 46; J. N. C. Ganguli, Principles of Hindu Taxation, IHQ, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 129-46.

So much about taxation in ordinary times. In *Āpattikala*, however, a king should levy extra taxes.⁴² He should explain to his people about the danger that the state is likely to face. He should appeal to them in these words, "The kingdom is in danger. The enemy, with the help of robbers, wants to loot us and trouble our women-wolk. For your safety as well as that of the kingdom, I request you to give me money for constructing boundary wall (for defence), for maintaining the army and for doing certain other important works. I will refund the amount after the calamity is over. Like a father, who becomes happy at the prosperity of his son, I feel joy to see you happy. Like bulls that carry load you should bear (the burden of extra taxes) for the welfare of everybody. Please donate liberally."⁴³ He

42. *Sūkra*, IV, 124-7. See also *Mann*, X, 118, 120.

43. आकांक्षन्नात्मनो राज्यं राज्ये स्थितिमकोपयन् ।

अदत्तमेवाददीत दातुर्वित्तं ममेति च ॥ *Mbb. Śānti*, CXXXII, 5.

प्रागेव तु धनादानमनुभाष्य ततः पुनः ।

संनिपत्य स्वविषये भयं राष्ट्रे प्रदर्शयेत् ॥

इयं आपत्समुत्पन्ना परचक्रभयं महत् ।

अपि चान्ताय कल्पन्ते वेणोरिव फलागमाः ॥

अरयो मे समुत्थाय बहुभिर्दस्युभिः सह ।

इदमात्मवधायेत राष्ट्रमिच्छन्ति बाधितुम् ॥

अस्यामापदि घोरायां सम्प्राप्ते दारुणे भये ।

परित्राणाय भवतः प्रार्थयिष्ये धनानि वः ॥

प्रतिदास्ये च भवतां स सर्वं चाहं भयक्षये ।

नारयः प्रतिदास्यन्ति यद् हरेयुर्वलादितः ॥

कलमत्रादितः कृत्वा सर्वं वो वित्तशेदिति ।

अति चेत् पुत्रदारार्थमर्थसंचय इष्यते ॥

नन्दामि वः प्रभावेण पुत्राणामिव चोदये ।

यथाशक्त्युपगृह्णामि राष्ट्रस्यापीडया च वः ॥

आपत्स्वेव च वोढव्यं भवद्भिः पुंगवैरिव ।

न च प्रियतरं कार्यं धनं कस्यचिदापदि ॥ *Ibid.* LXXXVII, 26-33.

should speak sweet words and convince them. Special attention should be paid towards the *Vaiśyas*, because they are generally rich and can be of much help.⁴⁴

According to Bhīṣma, a king should “fill his treasury (by any means) like one creating water in a wilderness which is without water”.⁴⁵ If his people do not pay taxes willingly, he should forcibly take away the wealth of wealthy persons, because money cannot be collected without troubling others and army cannot be maintained without money (and without army it is difficult to defend the kingdom). Hence, a king should not hesitate in forcibly taking away other's wealth. Moreover, by troubling people in *Āpattikāla*, he is not associated with sin like that person, who does improper acts for performing a sacrifice.⁴⁶

There is no consistency in the Mahābhārata about the *Brāhmaṇas* and taxation. At some places it does not allow a king to take the property of a *Brāhmaṇa*.⁴⁷ At other

44. Ibid. LXXXVII, 34-40.

45. कोशं च जनयेद्राजा निर्जलेभ्यो यथा जलम् ॥ Ibid., CXXX, 13.

46. आकांक्षन्मात्मनो राज्यं स्थितिमकोपयन् ।

अदत्तमेवाददीत दातुर्वित्तं ममेति च ॥ Ibid., CXXXII, 5.

आददीत विशिष्टेभ्यो नावसीदेत्कथंचन ॥

हन्तारं रक्षितारं च प्रजानां क्षत्रियं विदुः ।

तस्मात्संरक्षता कार्यमादानं क्षत्रबन्धुना ॥

नान्यानपीडयित्वा कोशः शक्यः कुतो बलम् ।

तदर्थं पीडयित्वा च दोषं प्राप्तुं न सोऽर्हति ॥

अकार्यमपि यज्ञार्थं क्रियते यज्ञकर्मसु ।

एतस्मात्कारणाद्राजा न दोषं प्राप्तुमर्हति ॥

Ibid., CXXX, 26-7, 36-8. This is in contradiction with Ibid., CXXX, 9, wherein it is said that troubling the people in *āpattikāla* leads to the destruction of the king afterwards.

47. क्षत्रियो वृत्तिसंरोधे कस्य नादातुमर्हति ।

अन्यत्र तापसस्वाच्च ब्राह्मणस्वाच्च भारत ॥ Ibid., CXXX, 20.

places, however, it is said that in *Āpattikāla*, a king can levy taxes on those *Brāhmaṇas*, who do not follow the *Varṇa Dharma* strictly. According to Bhīṣma, those *Brāhmaṇas* who are not *śrotṛīyas* and who do not perform Agnihotra should be regarded as *Śūdra* and should be taxed. Similar was the case with those *Brāhmaṇas*, who became professional priests and astrologers and who were to be deemed *cāṇḍālas* on account of this. In the same way those *Brāhmaṇas* also should not be exempted from taxation, who became like *Kṣatriyas* as a result of their appointment as the royal priest, minister, ambassador or messenger. A king should behave similarly towards those *Brāhmaṇas*, who joined one of the four limbs of the army, namely, elephantry, cavalry, charioteery and infantry and were degraded to the *Vaiśya Varṇa*.⁴⁸ Bhīṣma further says that those *Brāhmaṇas* were like gods (*deva sama*), who studied the *R̥gveda*, the *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurveda* and who strictly observed the code of conduct, specifically laid down for their *Varṇa*. They should never be asked to pay taxes.⁴⁹ Those, who officiate as priests in sacrifices also should be exempted.⁵⁰ According to

48. Ibid., LXXVI, 4-8. Peculiarly enough, Bhīṣma says that a *Brāhmaṇa* becomes like a *Vaiśya* by joining one of the four limbs of the army, because we know that according to the *Mbh.* as well as other ancient Indian works, it were generally the *Kṣatriyas*, who formed the military class.

49. ऋग्यजुः सामसम्पन्नाः स्वेषु कर्मष्ववस्थिताः ।

एते देवसमा राजन् ब्राह्मणानां भवन्त्युत ॥

एतेभ्यो बलिमादद्याद्दीनको महीपतिः ।

ऋते ब्रह्मसमेभ्यश्च देवकल्पेभ्य एव च ॥ Ibid., LXXVI, 5, 9.

50. न घनं यज्ञशीलानां हार्यं देवस्वमेव च । Ibid., CXXXVI, 2.

ऋत्विगुपुरोहिताचार्यान् सत्कृतानभिसत्कृतान् ।

न ब्राह्मणान्घातयीथ दोषान् प्राप्नोति घातयन् ॥ Ibid., CXXXII, 9.

Manu, even if dying (i. e. in serious calamities and the time of distress) a king should not levy taxes on the *Śrotriyas*.⁵¹

From the foregoing paragraphs, it is easy to conclude that in ordinary times the king should levy taxes without troubling his people. They should be taxed in conformity with their capacity. In *Āpattikāla* extra taxes could be levied after convincing the people that they should co-operate with him in the realisation of an object of common welfare. If people do not respond to his persuasion, he should forcibly take away their wealth. *Brāhmaṇas* should generally be exempted from taxation, but in *Āpattikāla*, certain varieties of them should be taxed. As in the case of protection of life by any means, so in the case of taxation by unfair means, the *Mahābhārata* prescribes expiation. Bhīṣma mentions some expiatory actions, by doing which a king could liberate himself from the sins, committed by collecting wealth unfairly. He should study the three *Vedas* (*trayī*), attend the *Brāhmaṇas*, please them by sweet words and good deeds, be compassionate, marry a girl of a high lineage, praise others for their merits, take bath daily, speak little (i. e. should not be too talkative), be possessed of good nature and conduct, should not care for his slander and should do noble deeds. By doing so he becomes popular, free from sins and is respected too.⁵²

51. म्रियमाणोऽप्याददीत न राजा श्रोत्रियात्करम् ॥ *Manu*, VII, 133.

52. अत्रैतदाहुराचार्या पापस्य परिमोक्षणे ।
त्रयीं विद्यामवेक्षेत तथोपासीत वै द्विजान् ॥
प्रसादयेच्चक्षुषा च वाचा चाप्यथ कर्मणा ।
महामनाश्चापि भवेद्विवहेच्च महाकुले ॥
इत्युत्पीति वदेदेवं परेषां कीर्तयेद् गुणान् ।
जनेदुदकशीलः स्यात्पेशलो नातिजल्पकः ॥
ब्रह्मक्षत्रं सम्प्रविशेद्वहु कृत्वा सुदुष्करम् ।

Foreign Affairs : Dealing with the conduct of foreign affairs in *Āpattikāla* the Mahābhārata says that a king should make all possible efforts to defend his kingdom and to escape defeat at the hands of the enemy. First of all, he should save his life. Thereafter he should make use of the four *Upāyas*.⁵³ He should enter into a treaty (*sāma*) with a powerful and righteous adversary. If the opponent happens to be a strong and unrighteous person, who is unwilling to enter into a treaty, he should adopt the policy of *Dāna* and make gifts of wealth and of a portion of his kingdom to him. In case he faces external as well as internal dangers as a result of a foreign invasion, corrupt ministers and exhausted treasury, he should make peace with the invader provided he is righteous. He should try to be in the good books of the high officials of his adversary and thereby should employ the policy of *Bheda*. If necessary, he should declare war and thus apply the policy of *Danḍa*. In doing so he should be ready to lay down even his life for the cause of his country, for he, who is killed while fighting, goes to heaven. Thus all the four *Upāyas* should be used by him.⁵⁴

According to the Mahābhārata, *Sandhi* (treaty) plays an important part in the foreign affairs of a state, specially during the *Āpattikāla*. In the words of Bhīṣma, "One desirous of welfare should make treaty even with an enemy. One, who does not do so, does not gain good results (literally, fruits).

उच्यमानो हि लोकेन बहुकृतदक्षिणयन् ॥

अपापो ह्येवमाचारः क्षिप्रं बहुमतो भवेत् । Ibid, CXXXIV, 12-7.

53. See Supra, Chap. VII, pp. 199 ff.

54. *Mbh.* Śānti, CXXXII.

That person also should be condemned who enters into a treaty with an enemy and opposes an ally ”.⁵⁵

To show the importance of treaty with an enemy and to illustrate the way in which a king, surrounded by many enemies, should act, the Mahābhārata gives the story of a cat and a mouse. It is said that in a forest there was a big banyan tree. A cat lived on the branches and a mouse in the holes thereof. One day a hunter came and spread his net there. The cat was caught in the net. Afterwards the mouse went there and began eating the meat kept by the hunter for attracting animals. At that time he saw a mongoose and an owl, waiting to eat him up. Finding himself surrounded by three enemies, viz. cat, mongoose and owl he thought his life to be in danger and hence, wanted to find out a plan for saving his life. After contemplation he decided to make friendship with the cat, thinking that the latter, finding itself in danger, will accept the offer. He said to the cat, “we are friends since long and live together in this tree. I will cut the net to set you free if you do not eat me up”. The cat agreed to do so. Seeing the mouse inside the net, the owl and the mongoose went away from that place. The mouse went on gnawing work slowly without cutting the main threads thinking that if the cat was free earlier, it would

-
55. संघातव्यं वृत्तेनित्यं व्यवस्य च हितार्थिभिः ।
 अमित्रैरपि संघेयं प्राणा रक्ष्या हि भारत ॥
 यो ह्यमित्रैर्नरो नित्यं न संदध्यादपण्डितः ।
 न सोऽर्थं प्राप्नुयात्किञ्चित् फलान्यपि च भारत ॥
 यस्त्वमित्रेण सन्दध्यात् मित्रेण च विरुध्यते ।
 अर्थयुक्ता समालोक्य सुमहद्विन्दते फलम् ॥
 बलिना संनिष्ठस्य शत्रोरपि परिग्रहः ॥
 कार्यं इत्याहुराचार्या विषमे जीवितार्थिना । Ibid., CXXXVIII, 15-7, 45-6.

eat it up and in case the net was cut when the hunter was coming, it would run away to save its life and would get no time to attack him. He did accordingly and entered its hole. Afterwards, the cat went near his hole and expressing its gratefulness to him for saving its life repeatedly told him that they were friends and hence, he should come out. The mouse, however, refused to do so because they were not natural friends but had become friends only for sometime and that too for self interest.⁵⁶

This story leads us to conclude that in dire adversity, a king should make peace even with a powerful and dangerous enemy, when the latter too was facing some difficulty. But he should be very careful after doing so, because "he, who does not protect himself after entering a treaty with a stronger enemy finds that treaty, productive of injury instead of benefit like the improper food that does harm and no good, to the body".⁵⁷

Another important point to be borne in mind in connection with the foreign affairs is that a king should not trust any one indiscriminately.⁵⁸ An enemy should never be trusted.⁵⁹ It censures that king, who trusts and distrusts his friends and enemies respectively simply because they are his friends and enemies.⁶⁰ He should move cautiously in

56. Ibid., CXXXVIII.

57. कृत्वा बलवता सन्धिमात्मानं यो न रक्षति ।

अपथ्यमिव तद् भुक्तं तस्य नार्थाय कल्पते ॥ Ibid. CXXXVIII, 9.

58. न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते विश्वस्ते नातिविश्वसेत् । Ibid., Śānti, CXXXVIII, 144. See also ibid, CXXXIX, 29.

59. नादेयोऽमित्र विश्वासः । Ibid., CXXXIX, 47.

परेषां तु न विश्वसेत् । Ibid., CXXXVIII, 196.

60. यो विश्वसिति मित्रेषु न विश्वसिति शत्रुषु ।

अर्थयुक्तिमविज्ञाय यः प्रीतौ कुरुते मनः ॥

मित्रे वा यदि वा शत्रौ तस्यापि चलिता मतिः । Ibid., CXXXVIII, 143-4.

regard to his friends also. This, according to the Epic, was the view of Uśanasa also⁶¹ and was the key-note of the foreign policy.⁶² Those kings, who follow this advice cannot be defeated by enemies whereas those, who neglect it are killed even by weak enemies.⁶³ The Mahābhārata says that outwardly a king should show that he trusts others but actually he should not have such feelings towards them.⁶⁴ He should adopt a double-faced policy in the conduct of foreign affairs.⁶⁵

Āpaddharma for Different Varṇas : The Mahābhārata emphasises the observance of *svadharma* and says that one should not give up the code of conduct, specifically prescribed for one's own *Varṇa*.⁶⁶ This injunction, however was meant for ordinary times only. The Epic believes that abnormal times have their own ethics. It, therefore, permits alterations in the *Varṇa Dharma* under abnormal circumstances. In the Udyoga Parva, Yudhiṣṭhira says to Vidura, "virtue and vice, which are both eternal and absolute, exchange their aspects during seasons of distress. One should follow without deviation the duties prescribed for the order

61. अस्मिन्नर्थे च गाथे द्वे निबोधोशनसा कृते ।

न विश्वसेदविश्वस्ते विश्वस्ते नातिविश्वसेद् ॥

नित्यं विश्वासयेदन्यान् परेषां तु न विश्वसेत् । Ibid., CXXXVIII, 193, 195-6.

62. संक्षेपो नीतिशास्त्राणामविश्वासः परो मतः । Ibid., CXXXVIII, 196.

63. नृषु तस्मादविश्वासः पुष्कलं हितमात्मनः ।

वध्यन्ते न ह्यविश्वस्ताः शत्रुभिर्दुर्बला अपि ॥

विश्वस्तास्तेषु वध्यन्ते बलवन्तोऽपि दुर्बलैः । Ibid., CXXXVIII, 197-8.

विश्वासाद्वध्यते लोके । Ibid., CXXXIX, 38.

अभीतस्य च विश्रम्भात् सुमहज्जायते भयम् ॥ Ibid. CXXXVIII, 21.

64. विश्वस्तर्वदविश्वसन् । Ibid., CXXXVIII, 206. See also verse no. 212.

65. Vide Supra, Chap. VII. pp. 227 ff.

66. Supra, Chap. III, pp. 86 ff.

to which one belongs by birth. Know O Sañjaya, that duties in season of distress are otherwise. When his means of living are totally gone, the man, who is destitute should certainly desire those other means by which he may be able to discharge the sanctioned duties of his order. One, that is not destitute of his means of living, as also one that is in distress, are, O Sañjaya, both to be blamed if they act as if the state of each were otherwise. When the creator hath ordained expiation for those *Brāhmanas*, who, without wishing for self-destruction, betake themselves to acts not sanctioned for them, this proves that people may, in seasons of distress, betake to acts not ordained for the orders to which they belong. And O Sañjaya, thou shouldst regard as worthy those that adhere to the practices of their own order in usual times as also those that do not adhere to them in seasons of distress, though thou shouldst censure them that act otherwise in usual times while adhering to their ordained practices during times of distress".⁶⁷ Similar is the view of Bhīṣma, who says, "For one, afflicted, what can be an improper outlet? For a person immured (within a dungeon and seeking escape) what can be an improper path? When a person becomes inflicted, he escapes by even an improper

67. यत्राधर्मो धर्मरूपाणि धत्ते धर्मः कृत्स्नो दृश्यते धर्मरूपः ।

विभ्रद् धर्मो धर्मरूपं तथा च विद्वांसस्तं सम्प्रपश्यन्ति बुद्ध्या ॥

एवं तथैवापदि लिंगमेतद् धर्माधर्मो नित्यवृत्ती भजेताम् ।

आद्यं लिंगं यस्य तस्य प्रमाणमापद्धर्मं संजय तं निबोध ॥

लुप्तायां तु प्रकृतौ येन कर्म निष्पादयेत् तत् परीप्सेद् विहीनः ।

प्रकृतिस्थश्चापदि वर्तमान उभौ गह्वौ भवतः संजयेतौ ॥

अविनाशमिच्छतां ब्राह्मणानां प्रायश्चित्तं विहितं यद् विधात्रा ।

सम्पश्येथाः कर्मसु वर्तमानान् विकर्मस्थान् संजय गृह्येस्त्वम् ॥

Mbb. Udyoga, XXVIII, 2-5. Nilakaṇṭha's commentary on these *ślokas* is very important. The above-mentioned translation by

P. C. Ray is based on the commentary of Nilakaṇṭha.

path".⁶⁸ For these reasons, the Mahābhārata and some other ancient Indian works allow the members of a *Varṇa* to adopt the professions of the other *Varṇas*, under extraordinary circumstances.

As regards the *Āpaddharma* for a *Brāhmaṇa*, the Mahābhārata says that a *Brāhmaṇa*, who does not want to give up his children and compassion, should take recourse to *Āpaddharma* under the following circumstances. "When high righteousness suffers decay and is transgressed by all, when unrighteousness becomes righteousness and righteousness assumes the form of its reverse, when all wholesome restraints disappear, and all truths in respect of righteousness are disturbed and confounded, when people are oppressed by kings and robbers, when men of all the four modes of life become stupefied in respect of their duties and all acts lose their merit, when men see cause of fear in every direction in consequences of lust and covetousness and folly, when all creatures cease to trust one another, when they slay one another by deceitful means and deceive one another in their mutual dealings, when houses are burnt down throughout the country, when the *Brāhmaṇas* become exceedingly afflicted, when the clouds do not pour a drop of rain, when every one's hand is turned against every one's neighbour, when all the necessities of life fall under the power of robbers, when indeed such a season of terrible distress sets in".⁶⁹

In ancient India it were generally the *Kṣatriyas*, who formed the military class. Fighting was laid down as their

68. पीडितस्य किमुद्वारमुत्पथो विधृतस्य च ।

अद्वारतः प्रद्रवति यथा भवति पण्डितः ॥ Ibid., Santi, CXXX, 22.

P. C. Ray's rendering adopted.

69. Ibid., Śānti, CXLI, 1-8. P. C. Ray's rendering adopted.

foremost duty,⁷⁰ because they were created for fighting battles and for attaining victory.⁷¹ An army, consisting of *Kṣatriyas* was given preference over that, consisting of the other *Varnas*.⁷² But the members of the remaining three *Varnas*, viz. *Brāhmaṇa*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* also were allowed to take up arms under certain circumstances, for example, when ordered by a king⁷³, when the rules for holding society were neglected, when *Varṇa-saṅkara* (mixture of caste) was taking place, when *dasyus* were causing confusion⁷⁴ and when *Kṣatriyas* were unarmed for fight, unable to protect (themselves and others) and were making too much of the enemy.⁷⁵

70. See Supra, Chap. III, pp. 87-8 and Chap. IX, pp. 267 ff.

71. युद्धाय क्षत्रियः सृष्टः सञ्जयेह जयाय च । Ibid., Udyoga, CXXXV, 13.

72. “ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राणां तेजः प्राधान्यात् पूर्वं पूर्वं:

श्रेयः सन्नाहयितुं” इति आचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः ।

प्रणिपातेन ब्राह्मणं परोऽभिहारयेत् । प्रहरणविद्याविनीतं तु क्षत्रियबलं श्रेयः ।

बहुलसारं वा वैश्यशूद्रबलमिति ॥ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. IX, 2, 43-7.

73. राज्ञो नियोगाद् योद्धव्यं ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः ।

वर्तता क्षत्रधर्मेण ह्येवं धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ *Mbh.* Salya, LXXV, 42.

74. उन्मयदि प्रवृत्ते दस्युभिः संकरे कृते ।

सर्वे वर्णा न दुष्येयुः शस्त्रवन्तो युधिष्ठिर ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LXXXVIII, 18.

75. अशस्त्रं क्षत्रियं मत्वा शस्त्रं गृह्णाद् यथापरः ।

त्राणायाप्यसमर्थं तं मन्यमानमतीव च ॥ Ibid., CXV, 5.

Commenting on this *śloka*, Nilakaṇṭha says :

त्राणायाप्यसमर्थं पर चानीव मन्यमानं क्षत्रियं अशस्त्रं ज्ञात्वा अपरो हीनोऽपि शस्त्रं गृह्णाति । अतः शस्त्रदलेनैव जितान्मामादीनुल्लङ्घ्य तत्तदधिपतिमुखे स्थातव्यं जितं राष्ट्रं सामादिना वशीकर्तव्यमिति शेषः ॥

“The sense is that although it is laid down that kings should fight with those only that are of the kingly order, yet when *Kṣatriyas* do not arm themselves but in their stead the other order, for resisting an invader, the latter may fight for putting down those that so arm themselves against him”.

Mbh. Trans. Ray, Vol. VII, p. 220. f. n.

The Mahābhārata further says that a *Brāhmaṇa* should take up arms for protecting the remaining three *Varṇas*, for saving his life, for preventing defects of the *varṇas* (*varṇa doṣa*, i. e. mixture of caste) and for checking and bringing under control the wicked persons.⁷⁶ According to the Epic, he does not incur sin by doing so. Gautama,⁷⁷ Vaśiṣṭha,⁷⁸ Baudhāyana,⁷⁹ Manu,⁸⁰ Yājñavalkya⁸¹ and Śukra⁸² also permit him to adopt the *Kṣatriya dharma* under abnormal circumstances. The Mahābhārata mentions some non-*kṣatriya* warriors, who adopted *Kṣatriya dharma* willingly and not as their *Āpaddharma*. The great warrior, Droṇa, a *Brāhmaṇa* by birth, Aśvatthāma, the son of *Ācārya* Droṇa and Yuyutsu, the son of a *Vaiśya* woman, are some illustrations of such warriors in the Epic. Puṣyamitra, a *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Senāpati* of the last Mauryan king Brhadratha may be referred to as a historical example of *Brāhmaṇa* warriors.

76. ब्राह्मणस्त्रिषु वर्णेषु शस्त्रं गृह्णन् दुष्यति ।

आत्मत्राणे वर्षदोषे दुर्दम्यनियमेषु च ॥

Mbb. Śānti, LXXVIII, 34.

77. प्राणसंशये ब्राह्मणोऽपि शस्त्रमाददीत । *Gautama*, VII, 25.

See also *ibid.*, VII, 6.

78. आत्मत्राणे वर्णसंवर्गे ब्राह्मणवैश्यौ शास्त्रमाददीयाताम् । III, 24.

79. गुर्वार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे वा वर्णानामपि संकरे ।

गृहीतायां विप्रविशौ शस्त्रं धर्मव्यपेक्षया ॥ *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, II, 2, 80.

80. शस्त्रं द्विजातिभिर्ग्राह्यं धर्मो यत्रोपरुध्यते ।

द्विजातीनां च वर्णानां विप्लवे कार्यकारिते ॥ VII, 348.

अजीवंस्तु यथोक्तेन ब्राह्मणः स्वेन कर्मणा ।

जीवेत्क्षत्रियधर्मेण स ह्यस्य प्रत्यनन्तरः ॥ *Ibid.*, X, 81.

81. क्षेत्रेण कर्मणा जीवेद्विशां वाऽप्यापदि द्विजः । III, 35.

82. ब्राह्मणस्यापि चापत्तौ क्षत्रधर्मेण वर्ततः ॥

प्रशस्तं जीवितं लोके क्षत्रं हि ब्रह्मसम्भवम् । IV, 1135-6.

In the *Śānti* Parva, Yudhiṣṭhira asked Bhīṣma whether a *non-kṣatriya* was justified in wielding the rod of chastisement with a view to protecting the people when the robbers were troubling them, an inter-mixture of *Varṇas* (*varṇa saṅkara*) was taking place, confusion was creeping in and the *Kṣatriyas* had become incompetent (to protect).⁸³ In reply Bhīṣma said, "Be he a *Śūdra* or be he the member of any order, he who becomes a raft on a raftless current, or a means of crossing where there are none, certainly deserves respect in every way. That person, O king, relying upon whom helpless men, oppressed and made miserable by robbers, live happily, deserves to be lovingly worshipped by all as if he were a near kinsman. The person, O thou of Kuru's race, that dispels the fear of others, always deserves respect. What use is there of bulls that would not bear burdens, or of kine that would not yield milk, or of a wife that is barren? Similarly what need is there for a king that is not competent to grant protection? As an elephant made of wood, or a deer made of leather, or a person without wealth, or one that is a eunuch, or a field that is sterile, even so is a *Brāhmaṇa* that is void of *Vedic* lore and a king incapable of granting protection. Both of them are like a cloud that does not pour rain. That person who always protects the good and restrains the wicked, deserves to become a king and to govern the world".⁸⁴

83. *Mbh.* *Śānti*, LXXXVIII, 35-7.

84. अपारे यो भवेत्पारमप्लवे यः प्लवो भवेत् ।
 शूद्रो वा यदि वाऽप्यन्यः सर्वथा मानमर्हति ॥
 यमाश्रित्य नरा राजन्वर्तयेयुर्यासुखम् ।
 अनाथा परिकल्पन्ती दस्युभिः परिपीडिताः ॥
 तमेव पूजयेयुस्ते प्रीत्या स्वमिव बान्धवम् ।
 अमीरभीक्ष्णं कौरव्य कर्ता सम्मानमर्हति ॥

Manu says that a *Brāhmaṇa* should not live in the kingdom, ruled by a *Śūdra*.⁸⁵ This clearly indicates that Manu is not in favour of the *Śūdra* rulers. There are many historical examples of non-*ṣatriya* rulers in ancient India. Mahāpadmananda, the founder of Nanda dynasty was a *Śūdra* and has been referred to as “*Śūdrāgarbhodbhava*”.⁸⁶ Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, a *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Senāpati* of Bṛhadratha, the last Mauryan king, killed the latter, and founded the Śuṅga dynasty of rulers. Kāṇvas and Kadambas also were *Brāhmaṇas*.⁸⁷

In the Śānti Parva, Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhira, “When a *Kṣatriya*’s⁸⁸ means of support are gone, what should he not take excepting what belongs to ascetics and what is owned by *Brāhmaṇas*... Even as a *Brāhmaṇa* in a season of distress may officiate at the sacrifice of a person for whom he should never officiate (at other and ordinary times) and eat forbidden food, so there is no doubt that a *Kṣatriya* in distress may take

किं तैर्येऽनहुतो नोह्याः किं घेन्वा वाऽप्यदुग्धया ।

बन्ध्यया भार्यया कोऽर्थः कोऽर्थो राज्ञाऽप्यरक्षता ॥

यथा दारुमयो हस्ती यथा चर्ममयो मृगः ।

यथा ह्यनर्थः षष्ठो वा पार्थ क्षेत्रं यथोषरम् ॥

एवं विप्रोऽनधीयानो राजा यश्च न रक्षिता ।

मेघो न वर्षते यश्च सर्वथा ते निरर्थकाः ॥

नित्यं यस्तु सतो रक्षेदसतश्च निवर्तयेत् ।

स एव राजा कर्तव्यस्तेन सर्वमिदं धृतम् ॥ Ibid., Śānti, LXXXVIII, 38-44.

Translation by P. C. Ray.

85. न शूद्रराज्ये निवसेत् । *Manu*, IV, 61.

Cf. क्षुद्रान् क्षुद्राचरितांश्च देशान्न सेवेत् । *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, I, 11, 32, 18.

86. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 24, 20-21. See also H. C. Raychowdhury : *Political History of Ancient India* (6th ed.), pp. 231-2.

87. There is no undisputed record of a *Vaiśya* ruler in ancient India.

88. *SIC*.

wealth from every one except ascetics and *Brāhmaṇas*... In a season of distress, when ordinary practices can not be followed, a *Kṣatriya* may live by even unjust and improper means. The very *Brāhmaṇas*, it is seen, do the same when their means of living are destroyed".⁸⁹

A *Kṣatriya* was allowed to lead the life of complete renunciation (*sanyāsa*) in the *Āpattikāla*.⁹⁰ In the same way, a *Śūdra*, who could not earn his livelihood by following the code of conduct, prescribed for him, could maintain himself by taking recourse to the professions of a *Vaiśya*, viz. trade and commerce (*vāṇijya*), cattle rearing (*paśupālyam*) and crafts (*śilpopajīvanam*).⁹¹ Similar is the view of Yājñavalkya also.⁹²

Manu also lays down the duties and professions that the members of the four *varṇas* should do in *Āpattikāla*. According to him, a *Brāhmaṇa*, failing to earn his living by following *Svadharma* was neither degraded nor associated with sin even if he accepted from all men, taught the *Vedas* to an unworthy person, officiated as priest at the sacrifice of a degraded insti

89. क्षत्रियो वृत्तिसंरोधे कस्य नादातुमर्हसि ।
 अन्यत्र तापसस्वाच्च ब्राह्मणस्वाच्च भारत ॥
 यथा वै ब्राह्मणः सीदन्नयाज्यमपि याजयेत् ।
 अभोज्यान्नानि चाश्नीयात् तथेदं नात्र संशयः ॥
 आपद्गतेन धर्माणामन्यायेनोपजीवनम् ।
 अपि हेतद् ब्राह्मणेषु दृष्टं वृत्तिपरिक्षये ॥ *Mbb. Śānti*, CXXX, 20-21,
 25. P. C. Ray's rendering adopted.

90. आपत्काले हि सन्यासः कर्तव्य इति शिष्यते । *Ibid.*, X, 17.
 It is doubtful whether a *Kṣatriya* could lead the life of complete renunciation. At one place the Epic prohibits begging alms for the *Kṣatriyas* (भैक्ष्यचर्या न विहिता..... ॥ *Ibid.*, CXXX, 23).

91. वाणिज्यं पशुपाल्यं च तथा शिल्पोपजीवनम् ।
 शूद्रस्यापि विधीयन्ते यदा वृत्तिर्न जायते ॥ *Ibid.*, CCXCIV, 4.

92. Yājñavalkya, I, 120. See also Kane : *History of Dharmasāstra*,

tutor or accepted gifts of vile.⁹³ By taking his food at a place (however sinful or unholy), a *Brāhmaṇa* on the point of death, is not associated with sin".⁹⁴

Another alternative before a *Brāhmaṇa* was to follow the code of conduct prescribed for the *Kṣatriyas*. Not able to maintain himself even by the *Kṣatriya Dharma* he should take recourse to the *Vaiśya Dharma*. But he should avoid violence by not indulging in cultivation, because many creatures are destroyed wittingly or unwittingly by the iron-bound plough when it penetrates into the earth.⁹⁵ Under extra-ordinary circumstances, a *Brāhmaṇa* or a *Kṣatriya* should maintain himself by "selling the uncondemnable and wealth-augmenting articles of trade out of those which are (ordinarily) sold by a *Vaiśya*". Manu gives a list of those articles, by selling which a *Brāhmaṇa* or a *Kṣatriya* is degraded to the *Vaiśya* or *Śūdra varṇas*.⁹⁶ Under similar circumstances, a

Vol. II, pp. 120-21.

93. सर्वतः प्रतिगृहणीयात् ब्राह्मणस्त्वनयं गतः ।

पवित्रं दुष्पतीत्येद्धर्मो नोपपद्यते ॥

नाध्यापनाद्याजनाद्वा गर्हिताद्वा प्रतिग्रहात् ।

दोषो भवति विप्राणां ज्वलनाम्बुसमा हि ते ॥ *Manu*, X, 102-3.

94. *Ibid.*, X, 104.

95. अजीवंस्तु अथोक्तेन ब्राह्मणः स्वेन कर्मणा ।

जीवेत्क्षत्रियधर्मेण स ह्यस्य प्रत्यनन्तरः ॥

उभाभ्यामप्यजीवंस्तु कथं स्यादिति चेद्भवेत् ।

कृषिगोरक्षमास्थाय जीवेद्वैश्यस्य जीविकाम् ॥

वैश्यवृत्त्यापि जीवंस्तु ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियोऽपि वा ।

हिंसाप्रायां पराधीनां कृषिं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥

कृषिं साध्विति मन्यन्ते सा वृत्तिः सद्विगर्हिता ।

भूमिं भूमिशयांश्चैव हन्ति काष्ठमयो मुखम् ॥ *Manu*, X, 81-4. For the

different views about agriculture as an occupation for *Brāhmaṇas* see Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 124-8.

96. *Manu*, X, 85-94.

Vaiśya should do the vocation of the *Śūdras*. But even at that time he should not do the condemnable works prescribed for the *Śūdra*.⁹⁷ Like the *Mahābhārata*⁹⁸, the *Manu Smṛti* also permits a *Śūdra* to become an artisan to save the life of his wife and children from starvation.⁹⁹

It is noteworthy in this connection that according to *Manu* the members of a *Varṇa* should take recourse to the duties and professions of the *Varṇa*, immediately below their own. A king should take away the belongings of one, who takes recourse to the duties of a higher *Varṇa*. Such a person should be banished from the kingdom.¹⁰⁰ A *Śūdra* was allowed to adopt *Vaiśya dharma*, since he was the lowest and there was no *Varṇa* lower than that of his own, the avocations whereof he could adopt. Peculiarly enough, the *Mahābhārata* does not want a *Kṣatriya* to adopt *Vaiśya* or *Śūdra dharma*.¹⁰¹ He should revert to his *Dharma* when the calamity was over.¹⁰² Like *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya* also gives a list of the things, which he should sell as well as those which he should not.¹⁰³ He allows such a

97. वैश्यो जीवन्स्वधर्मेण शूद्रवृत्त्यापि वर्तयेत् ।

अनाचरन्नकार्याणि निवर्तेत च शक्तिमान् ॥ *Ibid.*, X, 98. See also Kane: op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 126-9.

98. *Mbh.* Śānti, CCXCIV, 4.

99. अशक्नुवंस्तु शुश्रूषां शूद्रः कर्तुं द्विजात्मनः ।

पुत्रदारात्ययं प्राप्तो जीवेत्कारुण्यमभिः ॥ X, 99.

100. यो लोभादधमो जात्या जीवेदुत्कृष्टकर्मभिः ।

तं राजा निर्यतं कृत्वा क्षिप्रमेव प्रवासयेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, X, 96.

101. Bhīṣma says—न च विदूश्शूद्रजीविका । *Mbh.* Śānti, CXXX, 23.

102. क्षात्रेण कर्मणा जीवेद्विशां वास्प्यापदि द्विजः ।

निकतीर्य तामथाऽत्मानं पावयित्वा न्यसेत्पथि ॥ *Yājñavalkya* (Ānandāśrama Press, 1904) III, 34. See also *Ibid.*, III, 41.

103. *Ibid.*, III, 35-9.

Brāhmaṇa to eat everywhere and to accept gift from everyone. He further says that he does not incur sin thereby like the burning fire.¹⁰⁴

Stealing, which was highly condemned otherwise, also has been permitted by the *Māhābhārata* in the *Āpattikāla*. According to it even a *Brāhmaṇa* could take recourse to theft, with a view to saving his life and by so doing he was not associated with sin.¹⁰⁵ In the first place, one should steal from a lower person. Failing such a person one may steal from one's equal, and failing an equal, one may steal from even an eminent and a righteous person."

In extra-ordinary times, the members of the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* and *Vaiśya varṇas* were allowed to eat the flesh of some animals. For example, five kinds of five-clawed animals are regarded as clean food for *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas*, as laid down in the scriptures."¹⁰⁶

In this connection the dialogue, once held between a *cāṇḍāla* and sage Viśvāmitra, attracts our attention. It is said in the *Śānti Parva* that once upon a time, at the end of the *Tretā Yuga* and before the beginning of the *Dvāpara*

104. आपद्गतः संप्रगृह्णन्मुञ्जानोऽपि यतस्ततः ।

न लिप्यतैनसा विप्रो ज्वलनार्कसमो हि सः ॥

बुभुक्षितस्त्र्यहं स्थित्वा धान्यमब्राह्मणाद् हरेत् ।

प्रतिगृह्य तथाऽऽरव्येयमभियुक्तेन धर्मतः ॥ Ibid, III, 40, 42.

105. आपत्सु विहितं स्तैन्यं विशिष्टसमहीनतः ।

विप्रेण प्राणरक्षार्थं कर्तव्यमिति निश्चयः ॥

हीनादादेयमादौ स्यात् समानात् तदनन्तरम् ।

असम्भवे वाऽऽददीत विशिष्टादपि धार्मिकात् ॥ *Mbb.* CXLI, 39-40.

106. पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य वै विशः ।

यथा शास्त्रं प्रमाणं ... ॥ Ibid., CLXI, 70. Translation

by P. C. Ray.. Commenting on this verse, Nilakaṇṭha says :

पञ्च शशशल्यकादयः पञ्चैव भक्ष्या नान्ये इति ।

Yuga, rains did not pour for twelve consecutive years. Rivers, lakes, streams and other water reservoirs dried up. Consequently crops were destroyed and famine took place. Many people starved to death. Population decayed. Robbers raised up their heads and began looting the people and thus complete disorder and chaos crept in. Under these circumstances Viśvāmitra and his family members also could get nothing to eat and live upon. Leaving his wife and children, Viśvāmitra went to a colony of *cāṇḍālas* in search of food. In one house, he saw a piece of a recently slain dog's thigh and decided to steal it in order to appease his hunger. The *cāṇḍāla* whom the sage had taken to be sleeping was, in fact, awake and he caught him red-handed. After knowing that the thief was no other than the famous sage Viśvāmitra, the *cāṇḍāla* repeatedly told him not to commit a great sin by eating the flesh and that too of a dog's thigh.¹⁰⁷ But the sage would not listen to him by arguing that the cows drink water, even though the frogs keep on croaking.¹⁰⁸ An authority in the matters of *Dharma*, the sage told him not to interfere. He said that in *āpattikāla*, self-preservation was the highest law and it justified recourse to all sorts of means fair or foul, commended or condemned, with a view to saving one's life. He took away the meat and offered the same to gods. After doing all these things he actually ate up the meat.¹⁰⁹

107. Eating the flesh of a dog has been strictly prohibited and highly condemned in the *Mbh.* According to it a "dog is less clean than a jackal. The haunch, again of a dog is a much worse part than other parts of his body...The dog is certainly an unclean food to the members of the regenerate class". (*Mbh.* Śānti, CXLI, 56-7, 68, 81 and 87). See also *Mbh. Trans.* Ray, Vol. VII, P. 338. f. n.

103 पिवन्त्येवोदकं गावो मण्डूकेषु रुदत्स्वपि ।
न तेऽधिकारो धर्मोऽस्ति मा भूरात्मप्रशंसकः ॥ Ibid., CXLI, 82.

109. Ibid, Chap. CXLI.

- Manu also cites examples of some important personalities, who took recourse to such things as their *āpaddharma*. We are informed that “the hungry sage Ajigarta for having attempted to kill his son (Śunaḥṣepa) in order to appease his hunger (with his flesh) was not associated with sin (of child killing). The famished Vāmadeva, the knower of sin and virtue, for having wished to eat dog’s flesh in order to avoid death from starvation, was not associated with the sin (of eating dog’s flesh). Oppressed by hunger in a lonely forest, the (holy) • Bhāradvāja of great austerity, together with his son was not associated with the sin (of taking vile gifts) for having accepted the gift of a large number of kine from Vṛdhu who was a carpenter. Oppressed by hunger, the holy Viśvāmitra, the knower of merits and demerits, for having accepted the gift of the flesh of a dog’s thigh¹¹⁰ from the hands of a *chāṇḍāla*,¹¹¹ was not associated with sin.”¹¹²

From the foregoing paragraphs it is easy to infer that in extra-ordinary times, the ordinary rules of morality were held in abeyance or sometimes thrown to winds and recourse

110. It is noteworthy that according to the Mbh. the *cāṇḍāla* did not offer the meat. It was Viśvāmitra who himself insisted on having it, although the *cāṇḍāla* repeatedly asked him not to do so.

111. SIC.

112. अजीगर्तः सुतं अन्तुमुपासर्पद्बुभुक्षितः ।

न चालिप्यत पापेन क्षुत्प्रतीकारमाचरन् ॥

श्वमांसमिच्छन्नातुं धर्माधर्मविचक्षणः ।

प्राणानां परिरक्षार्थं वामदेवो न लिप्तवान् ॥

भरद्वाजः क्षुधार्तस्तु सुपुत्रो विजने वने ।

बह्वीर्गाः प्रतिजग्राह वृधोस्तक्षो महातपाः ॥

क्षुधार्तश्चातुमभ्यागाद्विश्वामित्रः श्वजाघनीम् ।

चण्डालहस्तादादाय धर्माधर्मविचक्षणः ॥ *Manu*, X, 105-8.

Translation by M. N. Dutta.

could be had even to those acts, which were strictly prohibited as great sins and heinous crimes in ordinary times. One could purify himself afterwards by performing certain prescribed acts.¹¹³

The Mbh. does not believe in the universality and uniformity of moral standard (*Dharma*). According to it every situation carries its own morals. *Dharma* varies in accordance with *Deśa*, *Kāla* and *Pātra*. *Āpaddharma* was prescribed for *āpattikāla*.

As regards political morality in the *āpattikāla*, we find that sometimes the same moral code, which is prescribed for ordinary times has been prescribed for extra-ordinary times also, but sometimes it is completely contradictory. Behaviour towards *Brāhmaṇas*, attitude towards the conduct of foreign affairs, possession of wisdom, lack of lethargic habits, presence of mind, procrastination and strength may be cited as the examples of the former and taxation, behaviour towards the members of family and *prajā-pīḍana*, as those of the latter.

The foremost duties of a king in *Āpattikāla* is to defend his kingdom, to escape defeat at the hands of his enemy and to save his life. For the latter, he has been allowed and advised to take recourse to all sorts of means, righteous or unrighteous, fair or foul and noble or ignoble. If alive he can restore his lost kingdom and other possessions whereas one who is dead, stands no chance to do all these things. But as far as possible he should not transgress *Dharma*. In other words, the least possible violation of *Dharma* is desired by the Mahābhārata. After *āpattikāla* is over he is to undergo expiation. The same is the case with regard to

113. The *Sānti Parvan*, Vol. XVI, Introduction (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1966) p. CXCIX.

enriching the treasury by doubtful methods in *Āpattikāla*. Thus, the ordinary fiscal rules were to be suspended in accordance with the demand of the situation.

Coming to the social morality, we find the same tendency. In ordinary times, one should never give up *Svadharmā*, i.e. the code of conduct, specifically prescribed for one's own *varṇa*. In *āpattikāla*, however, these rules should be relaxed. Failing to earn their livelihood by following *Svadharmā* the members of one *Varṇa* could adopt the avocations and do the duties of other *Varṇas*. In doing so, they should bear this in mind, that they adopt the avocations of *varṇas* lower than their own, and never that of the higher *varṇas*. According to Manu, those who violate this rule should be punished. Thus a *Brāhmaṇa* should do the duties of the *Kṣatriyas* and failing to maintain himself by the *Kṣatriya Dharma*, he should adopt the *Vaiśya Dharma*. A *Kṣatriya* should resort to the *Vaiśya Dharma*. But the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Kṣatriyas*, who have adopted the *Vaiśya Dharma* should not do cultivation, because that is not free from violence. They should sell only certain things, otherwise they are degraded. Similarly a *Vaiśya* was free to follow the *Śūdra Dharma* but should not do the undignified works, done by the *Śūdras*. Sometimes the *Vaiśyas* were allowed to take up arms, which is evidently the *Kṣatriya Dharma* and hence the *Dharma* of a higher *Varṇa*. But there is no instance of their being punished. This is in contradiction with the rule that in no case should the members of one *Varṇa* adopt the avocations of a higher *varṇa*. Since there was no *varṇa*, lower than the *Śūdra*, the duties whereof a *Śūdra* could adopt, the Mahābhārata lays down that he should take recourse to fine arts such as painting and sculpture.

In brief, the Mahābhārata holds the view that the ^{everything} morality as well as the political morality are bound

accordance with the changing times and circumstances. And this is quite in the fitness of things, because what is true of a sick man could not be and should be true of a healthy man, what is applicable to a competent person should not be so in the case of one, who is famine-stricken. This, according to the Mahābhārata and other ancient Indian works, is the idea that underlies *Āpaddharma*, i.e. the morality of the season of distress and extra-ordinary circumstances. The state, according to the Mahābhārata, recognized the code of exceptional morality under special circumstances for maintaining the social order, which was its main duty.

CHAPTER XI

RÉSUMÉ

The Mahābhārata is one of the great Epics of India. It gives a comprehensive account of the ancient Indian political thought, the highest watermark being reached in the Śānti Parva. It is a mine of information for researchers. But one, working on it, has to face some difficulties, which are due to the uncertainty of its authorship, the date of its event as well as composition, and its sometimes inconsistent accounts. These defects, however, do not lessen the importance of the work, specially when one bears in mind the vast time-factor, the changes, additions and redactions, it has undergone in different ages, resulting in the voluminous size it has attained.

The ancient Indian writers on politics used many terms to denote politics. These are *Danḍanīti*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Rājadharm*, *Rājanīti*, *Rājaśāstra*, *Nayaśāstra* or *Nītiśāstra* and *Kṣātravidyā*. *Danḍanīti* is the most commonly used word. According to the Mahābhārata *Danḍanīti* was necessary for the prosperity, happiness and welfare of the whole world. The Mahābhārata gives accounts of its divine as well as human origin. In the case of the latter the approval of god Nārāyaṇa was sought. "This shows that in ancient India, everything

old and good was ascribed to the will of God, but nonetheless human part and play of human forces were also recognized. The idea behind the divine sanction in the case of the human origin was to prevent kings from becoming despots and arbitrary rulers. *Daṇḍanīti* was believed to have originated for the establishment of peace and order, which come within the scope of the comprehensive Hindu conception of *Dharma*. It is clear from the contents of the treatise, dealing with *Daṇḍanīti*, that its scope was very wide. Salvation was regarded as its ultimate concern. This proves that according to the Mahābhārata the end of politics was ethical.

Coming to the place of *Daṇḍanīti* in the ancient Indian scheme of *Vidyās* (branches of knowledges), we find that *Daṇḍanīti* is one of the four important *vidyās*, namely, *Āmīkṣikī*, *Trayī*, *Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti*, mentioned in the Mahābhārata, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Manu Smṛti, the Kāmandaka Nītisāra, the Agni Purāṇa, the Matsya Purāṇa, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Śukra Nītisāra. Generally, the place, assigned to *Daṇḍanīti* is equal to that of the other *Vidyās*. Kauṭilya, however, establishes the superiority of *Āmīkṣikī* over *Daṇḍanīti* by describing the former as the guide of all the sciences (*pradīpaḥ sarvavidyānām*). Kāmandaka holds a contrary view and emphasises the necessity of *Daṇḍanīti* for the progress of the remaining branches of knowledge.

Ancient Indians believed in the four ends of human life, known as the four *puṇyārthas*, namely *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*. The above four constituted the Hindu conception of *caturvarga*. Sometimes *Mokṣa* was excluded and the remaining three were then denoted by the term *Trivarga*. Observance of the *Trivarga* was believed to lead to the fourth end, i.e. salvation, the ultimate goal of life and the end of ethics according to the Mahābhārata. It was *Daṇḍanīti*, which established peace and order and created such an

atmosphere wherein the pursuit of these ends was possible. Without the help of *Danḍanīti*, *Trivārga* could not be realised and without it, the fourth *puruṣārtha* became impossible. Thus *Danḍanīti* aimed at the realisation of the end of ethics and hence, it can be said that in the Mahābhārata *Danḍanīti* serves as a means to the attainment of ethical standards.

Ancient Indian thinkers did not clearly mark off the spheres of law, religion and ethics. In the Mahābhārata the same tendency is noticeable. For this reason ancient Indian literature lacks a precise and definite term for Ethics. In the Mahābhārata, however, the words *Dharma*, *Niti*, *Ācāra* and *Sadācāra* can be interpreted as denoting ethics. The Epic does not believe in the absolute uniformity and universality of the moral standards, which change in accordance with time, place, circumstances and other similar factors. Hence, *Dharma* has been classified under the following heads—, *Sāmānya Dharma* (universal moral code), *Āśrama Dharma* (code of conduct for the different *āśramas*, i.e. stages of life), *Varṇa Dharma* (code of conduct for the different *varṇas*), *Guṇa Dharma* (the code of conduct prescribed for one, holding a particular office), *Naimittika Dharma* (the acts done with a special purpose, e.g. expiatory rites), *Yuga Dharma* (code of conduct for the different *yugas*) and *Āpaddharma* (the morality of the times of distress). In the Mahābhārata, ethics has been deemed to be a normative science dealing with the conduct of human beings, living in society. Its end is the realisation of salvation, the ultimate goal of human life. Thus, according to the Mahābhārata, Politics and Ethics have a common end, the attainment at salvation (*mokṣa*).

The state, denoted by the terms *rājya*, *rāṣṭra* and *janapada* in the Mahābhārata, consists of seven elements, called *aṅgas* or *prakṛtis*. These are *Svāmī* (sovereign or ruler), *Amātya* (ministers i.e. officers of a state), *Janapada* (population

and territory), *Durga* or *Pura* (fort or fortified capital), *Koṣa* (treasury), *Daṇḍa* or *Bala* (army) and *Mitra* or *Subhṛd* (allies). A similar list of the seven constituents of state occurs in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Manu Smṛti, the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, the Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra, the Kāmandaka Nītisāra and the Śukra Nītisāra. These *aṅgas* are not equal in importance yet they are equally important and necessary for, and make equal contributions to, the efficient functioning of the state. The Epic does not throw light on the problem whether a state should be deemed as an organism.

The Mahābhārata has a great dread of anarchy. It emphasises the necessity of, and attaches great emphasis to, the state which came into existence for removing unhealthy atmosphere and establishing and maintaining *Dharma*. As regards the end of the state we have seen that the Mahābhārata does not specifically deal with this problem. On the basis of the portions, dealing with the duties and functions of a king, it is easy to infer that it aims at emancipation, by creating such an environment, wherein vigorous action is possible. Thus, the state of the Mahābhārata has a moral purpose.

The Epic does not believe in equalitarian ideal. Society, as known herefrom, is hierarchical, wherein the *Brāhmaṇas* occupy the highest place and the *Kṣatriyas* the next. The *Vaiśyas* and the *Śūdras* are placed into the back-ground. The discrimination, based on *Varnas*, was extended to a discrimination of sex also. Women as such have no part to play in the political life, although at one place a conqueror has been advised to instal a girl as king if the defeated king was killed in a war and had no male survivor. Thus the relation between the state and the individual in the Epic has no democratic basis of modern times. But this does not mean that a state could do whatever it liked. The Mahābhārata vindicates limited monarchy and says that an unworthy, ignoble,

undutiful and undesirable king should not only be dethroned, but should be killed like a mad dog. It presents examples also when such kings were actually dethroned by the subjects. The view of the Mahābhārata about the grounds of political obligation has to be arrived at by interpreting the significance of those passages, wherein a king's divinity, necessity, importance, functions, duties and relation with the ruled have been given. One should obey a state because of the divinity of king, fear of *Danḍa*, importance of *Dharma*, desire for welfare and the attainment of emancipation. Thus, state, as conceived in the Mahābhārata, stands for a moral purpose.

The Mahābhārata gives details about monarchy and morals. According to it a king is necessary because it is only after being protected by him that one can devote oneself to the noble ends. The Epic says that a king should be righteous, because the condition of a state, ruled by an unrighteous ruler, is deplorable. Since the office of kingship is of great responsibility, the Mahābhārata and other works on polity want him to possess high qualities, qualifications and moral virtues and lay down the disqualifications and vices, which should always be avoided and shunned by him. The complete picture of a king, thus presented, makes him a highly moral person, free from all vices and possessing qualities leading to a noble existence for him as well as for his subjects and kingdom.

As regards the practical aspect of this problem, we have found that this fine ideal was observed normally but sometimes kings failed to live upto it. There is a sort of interdependence between the king and the *Dharma*. The latter helps the former's rule to be more successful and stable and the establishment of the latter depends on the former. For these reasons, the Epic lays down the establishment and the maintenance of *Dharma* as an important duty of a king.

His other duties are *Prajā-rakṣaṇa*, *Prajā-pālana* and *Prajā-rañjana* (i.e. protection, maintenance, nourishment and recreation of the people), *Nigrahānugraha* (punishing the wicked and maintaining the noble persons), establishment of *Varṇāśrama Dharma*, duties as a judge, performance of sacrifices, giving shelter to those asking for it, doing philanthropic works like the construction of water reservoirs, looking after the welfare of orphans, widows and other deserving women, checking the drinking shops, public women, actors, gamblers, keepers of gambling houses and those persons, who cause disorder in society, who are extremely passionate and who eat meat, discouraging beggary, observing *Trivarga*, consisting of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* and seeing that his subjects also followed it and thereby attempted to attain salvation.

As regards the relation between a king and *Dharma*, the Mahābhārata wants a king to observe it. According to it, *Dharma* in a king, results in the welfare of the whole state. People live happily and prosperity increases, whereas the condition of a state ruled by an unrighteous (*adharmika*) king is deplorable. The Mahābhārata wants a king to acquire and rule his kingdom in accordance with *Dharma*.

Although monarchy is the normal and popular form of government in the Mahābhārata, it mentions some non-monarchical forms of government also. The information, furnished by the Epic, about these forms varies in inverse ratio from that about the monarchical states. The Mahābhārata does not deal with all types of non-monarchical states and morals in explicit terms. It, however, casually refers to the relation between *gaṇa* and *saṅgha rājyas* and morals. From such passages, it is easy to infer that the place of morals in non-monarchies was as important as in monarchies. Sometimes it was emphasised more in the former than in the latter, because in the case of the former the existence and the security

of a state depended upon the morality of the people as a whole whereas in the latter, mostly upon the morality of the king. Thus it says that the members of a *gaṇa* should avoid *lobha* (greed), *moha* (ignorance), *amaṛṣa* (jealousy), *krodha* (anger) and *bheda* (dissension). They should respect their elders and women. But the state of affairs, in practice, was sometimes, specially during the decadent periods, just the contrary of the theory. *Gaṇas* were, in fact, the seats of the vices, mentioned aboves. Even a great diplomat like Kṛṣṇa is found complaining to Nārada that he was the target of severe and unhealthy criticisms, hard words and abuses. Dissension and party-politics were quite dominant. Thus the actual fell short of the ideal in the non-monarchical states also.

The account of foreign affairs, as known from the Mahābhārata, presents interesting problems to a researcher. The Epic furnishes evidence of the existence of a number of states. Although international law and international relationship, as conceived in our times, cannot, in the strict sense of the term, be said to have prevailed in ancient India, yet they are to be found in a rudimentary form in the Mahābhārata. It classifies different states under four heads, viz. friendly states or allies (*Subṛd* or *mitra*), inimical states (*śatru* or *ari*), neutral states (*udāsīna*) and intermediary states (*madhyastha* or *madhyagata*). This classification is based on the following kinds of relationships with the foreign states : hostility, neutrality mediation and friendship. Like other ancient Indian works on polity it describes and prescribes the *Ṣāḍguṇyas*, the six expedients of foreign policy, viz. *Sandhi*, *Vigraha*, *Yāna*, *Āsana*, *Samśraya* and *Dvaidhībhbāva*. The fourfold foreign policy, consisting of *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda* and *Daṇḍa* has also been mentioned in the Epic. It enumerates the occasions of the application of these six expedients and four policies (*upāyas*).

The conception of *Maṇḍala*, the circle of states, also has been given in the Mahābhārata. Like the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Manu Smṛti and the Kāmandaka Nītisāra, the Epic holds the view that a *Maṇḍala* consists of seventy-two elements.

As regards the diplomatic agents, we have seen that in the Mahābhārata as well as in other works, these have been classified under two heads, viz. ambassadors (*dūta*) and spies (*cāra*). Unlike the modern practice of stationing envoys as permanent agents in a foreign state, in ancient India they were temporary officers, appointed for, and sent on, a special mission. They had to perform manifold functions but they were concerned mainly with the vital questions of foreign policy. Since they had to perform some very important as well as delicate duties, they were to be highly qualified. The Mahābhārata emphasises the sacredness and inviolability of ambassadors. It lays down salutary regulations in connection with the behaviour to be meted out to them. In the Epic we find that, except once in the case of Kṛṣṇa, this rule was generally observed. Espionage, however, was a permanent and prominent feature of a state and was one of the limbs of an army. This shows its necessity and importance. Spies were to be appointed by a king to collect the greatest possible information. For this purpose, they were scattered throughout one's own kingdom as well as foreign states. Secrecy was the characteristic feature which distinguished them from envoys. They could be roughly handled, if found out. The Mahābhārata gives a list of persons, who could be assigned this risky task. The ancient Indians works on polity deal with the means that the spies were to adopt for completing the task, assigned to them.

Coming to the code for the conduct of foreign affairs, it is noticeable that the Mahābhārata pays more attention

to the behaviour towards inimical states and has nothing particular to say about friendly states. According to it the prosperity of an enemy was a cause of sorrow and his mishaps of happiness, which was greater than that, caused by the birth of a son. Hence, a king should resort to all sorts of means, fair or foul, righteous or unrighteous to put down the enemy. Sometimes the Epic lacks consistency about the behaviour to be meted out to an enemy. But a balance of evidence shows that the place of morals in the foreign affairs varies in inverse ratio from that of its place in the internal affairs of a state.

It is clear from a study of the Ethics of War that the Mahābhārata lays down ethical norms regarding war, which, being a necessary evil, cannot be completely eradicated but can be definitely humanized. It enjoins fighting as an important duty of *Kṣatriyas* and says that as far as possible they should fight a righteous battle the main aim whereof was the establishment of right and not of might. Thus it believes in two main kinds of fighting, viz. righteous (*Dharma Yuddha*) and unrighteous (*Adharma Yuddha*). The thinkers of ancient India looked upon war as a serious business which was to be fought at any cost but not without method. Hence, they laid down a code of fighting to guide the conduct of contending parties, while in action. The main items of this code are connected with the declaration of war, fight with equals, condemnation of flight from the battle-field, proper death for a *Kṣatriya*, disposal of those killed in war, behaviour towards one asking for shelter, an exhausted enemy, innocent and leaderless soldiers, the non-combatants, *Brāhmaṇas*, captured maidens, captives of war, righteousness in a king's conduct, considerations regarding war-weapons, time of fighting, persons not to be attacked, prohibition to use trickery, ambulance corps to accompany the army, allowance

to the dependents of a dead warrior, conqueror and the conquered and the booties of war.

This code was generally observed but sometimes disregarded also. The account of those killed unfairly in the War of Kurukṣetra shows its violation in actual practice. Though the ethics of war was sometimes not observed in practice, no serious attempt has been made in the Mahābhārata to justify the violation of the code of fighting. Sometimes the person, responsible for violation, justified his conduct on the basis of tit for tat and many of his friends and followers felt happy over the victory, thus attained. This was, however, no justification of the warfare by unrighteous methods. Sometimes such a conduct was condemned by the leaders of the same side. This shows that their sense of morality was still keen and had not been dulled by the exigencies of war.

The detailed description of the War of Kurukṣetra presents many serious difficulties. For instance, the numbers of the casualties and survivors are either exaggerated or self-contradictory and hence, unauthentic and unreliable. The number of the casualties, is nearly the half of the present world population and is nearly four times the population of modern India. And this number is exclusive of old men, war-spectators, women, children etc. as well as the other contemporary states, indicating thereby that the total population of India would have been many times of the present world-population. Such passages, however, should not be taken seriously at all !

In the same way, references to the missing persons also are purely imaginary. Only ten persons (Kṛṣṇa, Sātyaki, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva from the Pāṇḍava side and Kṛpacārya, Kṛtavarmā and Aśvatthāmā from the Kaurava side) survived the War. Who, then, were

those persons who have been described as 'missing' ? Did they run away to some other states ?

According to the Mahābhārata, every situation has its own morals. It lays down a different moral code for the times of distress. This has been called *Āpaddharma*. A study of *Āpaddharma* leads us to infer that abnormal circumstances justify recourse to the otherwise condemned and prohibited deeds. This is true of political morality as well as of social morality. This is in the fitness of things, because what is true of a healthy man can never be true of a diseased one and what is true of a normal person can never be applied to one, fallen in distress.

To put briefly, Politics and Ethics in the Mahābhārata have one and the same end, the attainment of *Mokṣa* (salvation). This must be preceded by an ethical preparation. Politics creates the atmosphere wherein one can pursue the goals of life, as laid down by Ethics. Hence Politics and Ethics are complementary, closely connected and inter-dependent. This is the view of the Mahābhārata.

The individual and the social morality, as depicted in the Mahābhārata, has no difference in the Machiavellian sense. *Dharma* is at the basis of these both. Moral standards, which guide the life of individuals also guide the life of states, whose end was to help the individual in the attainment of salvation. The provisions of *Āpaddharma* applied to both of them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I—ORIGINAL WORKS

1. Texts

Abhijñāna Śākuntalam of Kālidāsa, Devadhar and Suru, Bombay, 1934.

Agni Purāṇa, Venketeshvara Press, Bombay (N. D.)

Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, Ed. A. Chinnaswami and Shastri, Banaras, 1932.

—Ed. Mahadeva Shastri and K. Rangacharya, Mysore, 1898.

Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, Ed. R. Shamashastry, Government Branch Press, Mysore, 1919.

—Ed. G. P. Shastri, Mahābhārata Kāryālaya, Delhi, V. S. 2010.

Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra, Ed. A. F. Stenjar, Lipzig, 1864.

Ācaraṅga Sutta, Ed. Hermann Jacobi, Published for Pāli Text Society by H. Frowder, London, 1882.

Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, Ed. L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1907.

Bhagavadgītā, Ed. & Trans. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Ruskin House, Museum Street, London, 1953.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Gītā Press, Gorakhpur.

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Venketeshvara Press, Bombay (N. D.)

Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, V. S. 1994.

Dīgha Nikāya, Ed. J. Kashyapa, Nalanda, 1958.

Gautama Dharma Sūtra, Ed. L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1917.

Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, Ed. J. P. Misra, Venketeshvara Press, Bombay, V. S. 2009.

Kāmandaka Nītisāra, Anandāśram Series, No. 136. 1958.

Kirātārjunīyam, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, Shaka, 1829.
Manu Smṛti with Kulluka's commentary *Mānavārtha-muktāvali*, Ed. N. R. Ahcarya, Bombay, 1946.

Mahābhārata, in 6 vols, Citraśālā Press, Vol. I, 1929; Vol. II, 1930; Vol. III, 1931; Vol. IV, 1931; Vol. V, 1932; Vol. VI, 1933. (Except where otherwise stated the references are to this Edition.)

—Critical Edition, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1933 onwards.

—Geeta Press, Gorakhpur, 1956-9.

Mahāvaggo, Ed. N. K. Bhagavata, 1944.

Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa, Ed. K. P. Parab, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1924.

Matsya Purāṇa, Venketeshvara Press, Bombay (N. D.).

Nīlamata Purāṇa, Ed. K. D. Vreese, Leiden, 1936.

Nītiśataka of Bhartṛhari, Ed. & Trans. H. D. Vaidya, Mathura, 1941.

Nītivākyāmrta of Somadeva Sūri, Ed. S. L. Shastri, Delhi, 1950.

Raghuvainśa of Kālidāsa, Kālidāsa Granthāvali, Akhila Bhāratiya Vikrama Parishad, V. S. 2001.

Rājadharm Prakāśa, Ed. V. S. S. Agnihotri, Sangamanera, 1930.

Rāmāyana of Vālmīki, Pandita Pustakālaya, Kashi, 1951.

—Ed. & Trans. Chandramani Vidyalankara, Dehradun, 1953.

R̥gveda Samhitā, Ed. Max Müller, London, 1890-92.

Śukra Nītisāra, Ed. & Trans. G. P. Shastri, Hindu Jagat Karyalaya, Shamli, Muzaffarnagar, V. S. 1998.

—Ed. & Com. J. V. Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1882.

Vāyu Purāṇa, Ānandāśrama Series, 1905.

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, Venketeshvara Press, Bombay, 1912.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Geeta Press, Gorakhpur, V. S. 2009.

Yājñavalkya Smṛti, Ed. J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1914.

— Ed. S. S. Sellur, Madras, 1912.

2. Translations

Agni Purāṇa, Translated by M. N. Datta, in 2 Vols., Elysium Press, Calcutta, 1903, 1904.

Ain-I-Akbarī of Abul Fazl, Translated by Col. H. S. Jarett, in 3 Vols. Revised and further annotated by J. N. Sarkar, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939, 1948, 1949.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Translated by R. Shamashastry, Mysore, 1956.

Dīgha Nikāya (Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta), Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI, Ed. F. Max-Müller, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1881.

Mahābhārata of Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, Translated by P. C. Ray, Vol. I. Datta, Bose and Co., 29 D. C. M. Street, Calcutta.

Vols. II-IV, Moti Jheel, Dum Dum, Bengal.

Vols. V-VIII Dum Dum Road, Calcutta.

Vol. IX-Moti Jheel. P. O. Dum Dum, Bengal.

Vols. X-XI, 49 Dum Dum Road, Calcutta. (N. D.)

Mahāvagga, Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, Ed. F. Max-Müller, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1881.

Menu Smṛitī, Translated by M. N. Datta, Calcutta, 1909.

Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, in 3 Vols., Translated by Makhan Lal Sen, Datta Bose & Co. Bengal. (N. D.)

Rgveda Smṛitī, Translated by H. H. Wilson, in 6 Vols. Poona, 1925-8.

Śukra Nītisāra, Translated by B. K. Sarkar, Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad, 1914.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Translated by H. H. Wilson, London, 1864-79.

Yājñavalkya Smṛti, Translated by J. R. Gharpure, in 2 Vols., Messrs. B. V. & Co. Girgaon, Bombay, 1938-1939.

II—MODERN WORKS

- AGRAWAL, V. S., *Bhārata kī Maulika Ekatā*, Allahabad, V. S. 2011.
- *Bhārata Sāvitrī*, Sastā Sāhitya Maṇḍala, New Delhi.
- *India as Known to Pāṇini*, University of Lucknow, 1953.
- *Kalā Aura Saṁskṛti*, Allahabad, 1958.
- AIYANGAR, K. V. R., *Rājadharmā*, Adyar Library, Adyar, 1941.
- *Consideration on Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, University Printers, Madras, 1916.
- AIYER, P. S. SIVASWAMI, *Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals*, Calcutta University, 1935.
- ALTEKAR, A. S., *Prācīna Bhāratiya Śāsana Paddhati*, Leader Press, Allahabad, 1948.
- ANJARIA, J. J., *Nature and Grounds of Political Obligation in Hindu State*, Longmans Green and Co. Ltd, London, 1935.
- BAHADUR, FATEH, *Ideal Kingship—Rājadharmā*, National Press, Allahabad, 1927.
- BANDOPADHYAYA, N. C., *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, Pt. I, 15 College Square, Calcutta.
- *Kauṭilya or An Exposition of His Social, Ideal and Political Theory*, 15 College Square, Calcutta.
- BANERJEE, R. D., *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, Blackie & Son Ltd., Bombay, Calcutta, Madras (N. D.).
- BASHAM, A. L., *The Wonder that Was India*, Sidgwick and Jackson, London, 1954.
- BASU, M. K., *Political Philosophy*, Kamal Book Depot, Calcutta. (N. D.).
- BENI PRASAD, *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*, The Indian Press Ltd. Allahabad, 1927.
- *State in Ancient India*, The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1928.
- BESANT, ANNIE, *Lectures on Political Science*, The Commercial Office, Adyar, Madras, 1919.

- BHAGAWAN DAS, *The Science of Social Organisation*, The Theosophist Office, Adyar, Madras, 1910.
- BHAMBHRI, C. P., *Substance of Hindu Polity*, International Publishing House, Meerut, 1959.
- BHANDARKAR, D. R., *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, Banaras Hindu University, 1929.
- BOSANQUET, BERNARD., *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, Mc. Millian & Co., Ltd., London.
- BUCH, M. A., *The Principles of Hindu Ethics*, Hathi Pole, Baroda, 1921.
- CARIATT, E. F., *Morals and Politics*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1935.
- Ethical and Political Thinking Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1947.
- CHAKRAVARTY, P. C., *The Art of War in Ancient India*, University of Dacca, 1941.
- CHATTERJEE, H. L., *International Law and Interstate Relations in Ancient India*, Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta, 1958.
- CHATTERJEE AND DATTA, *Indian Philosophy* (Hindi Translation by Jha and Misra) Pustaka Bhandara, Patna, (N. D.).
- CONNELL, REV. FRANCIS, *Morals in Politics and Professions*. The Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Maryland, 1946.
- CROCE, B., *Politics and Morals*, Translated from Italian, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.
- DASGUPTA, S. N., *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, University Press, Cambridge, 1932.
- DATE, G. T., *The Art of War in Ancient India*, Oxford University Press, 1929.
- DATTA, R. C., *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India*, In 3 vols., Trubner and Co. London, Thackes Spink and Co., Calcutta, 1889, 1889 and 1890.
- *The Ramayana and the Mahabharata*. J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London.

- DAVIDS, R., *Buddhist India*, Trudner and Co., London, 1890.
- DEY, N. L., *Geographical Dictionary of India*, London, 1927.
- DHARMA, P. C., *The Rāmāyaṇa Polity*, The Madras Law Journal Press, Madras, 1941.
- DIKSHITAR, V. R. R., *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, University of Madras, 1929.
- *Purāṇa Index*, 3 Vols. University of Madras, 1951, 1952, 1955.
- *War in Ancient India*, Macmillian and Co., Ltd., Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, London, 1948.
- DIVATIA, H. V., *The Art of Life in the Bhāṅavadgītā*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1956.
- DOUGLAS, P. H., *Ethics in Government*, Harward University Press, 1953.
- DREKMEIER, C., *Kingship and Community in early India*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1962.
- DUNCAN A. R. C., *Practical Reason and Morality*, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1957.
- FIELD, G. C., *Pacifism and Conscientious Objection*. Cambridge University Press, 1945.
- FLEET, J. F., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors, Calcutta, 1888.
- GANDHI, M. K., *Hindu Dharma*, Navajivan Press, Ahmabad, 1950.
- GARNER, J. W., *Introduction to Political Science*, American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.
- *Political Science and Government*, American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta. (N. D.).
- GHOSHAL, U. N., *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, Oxford University Press, 1923.

- HELD, G. J., *Mahābhārata : An Ethnological Study*, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., London, 1935.
- HERMANN, GRETTE, *Politics and Ethics*, The National Information and Publication Ltd., Bombay, 1947.
- HIRIYANNA, M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1951.
- HOBHOUSE, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1951.
- *Metaphysical Theory of the State*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1926.
- HOPKINS, E. W., *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1915.
- *The Great Epic of India*, New Haven, 1913.
- *Ethics of India*, New Haven, 1924.
- Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India, as Presented by the Sanskrit Epic, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XII, pp. 57-376.
- HASTINGS, J., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vols. V and VIII, T. & T. Clark Edinburgh, 1912, 1915.
- JAYASWAL, K. P., *Hindu Polity*, Calcutta, 1924.
- JOAD, C. E. M., *Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics*, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1938.
- JOSHI, L.S., *Vaidika Saṁskṛti kā Vikāsa*, (Hindi Translation by M.D. Paradakar), Hindi Grantha Ratnakar, Bombay, 1957.
- KANE, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vols. 2 and 3, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, 1946.
- KAPOOR, Y. N., *Dharma-nirapekṣa Prācīna Bhārata kī Prajā-tantrātmaka Paramparāyen*, Agra, 1958.
- KOTIYAL, H. S., *The Position of the Śūdras and Untouchables in Ancient India*, A Ph. D. Thesis of the Banaras Hindu University (Unpublished).
- LAW, N. N., *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1921.

- *Interstate Relations in Ancient India*, Luzac and Co., London, 1920.
- *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, Vol. I., Longmans Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E. C., 1914.
- LILLIE, WILLIAM, *An Introduction to Ethics*, McIlhuen and Company Ltd., London, 1955.
- LIVINGSTONES, SIR R. W., *Plato : Selected Passages*, Oxford University Press, 1951.
- MACDONELL, A. A., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, William Heine Mann Ltd., London, 1928.
- *India's Past*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1927.
- MACDONELL A. A. AND KEITH, A. B., *Vedic Index*, Moti Lal Banarasidas, Delhi, Patna, Banaras, 1958.
- MAITRA, S. K., *The Ethics of the Hindus*, Calcutta, University, 1956.
- MAJUMDAR, A. K., *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, Calcutta.
- MAJUMDAR, B. B., *Principles of Political Science and Government*, 5th Edition. (N. D.)
- MAJUMDAR, B. K., *The Military system in Ancient India*, World Press Ltd., Calcutta, 1955.
- MAJUMDAR, R. C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Surendra Nath Sen, Calcutta, 1918.
- *Ancient India*, Motilal Banarasidas, Banaras, 1952.
- MAJUMDAR, R. C. AND PUSALKAR, A. D., Ed. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhawan, Bombay, 1953.
- *The Classical Age*, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhawan, Bombay, 1954.
- MANKAD, D. R., *Purāṇic Chronology*, Gaṅgājāla Prakāshan, Gujrat.
- MCCRINDLE, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian*, Westminster, 1893.
- McKENZIE, JOHN. S., *A Manual of Ethics* (sixth edition), University Tutorial Press Ltd., London.
- *Hindu Ethics*, Oxford. 1922.

- *Outlines of Social Philosophy*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1952.
- MEES, G. H., *Dharma and Society*, Luzac and Co., London. W. C. I., 1935.
- MUKERJEE, R. K., *Hindu Civilisation*, 2 vols. Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhawan, Bombay, 1931.
- MULLICK, P. N., *Mahābhārata, As It Was, Is And Shall Be*, (First Edition) Calcutta, 1934.
- MURRAY, REV. R. H., *The Individual and the State*, Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., London, New York, Melbourne and Sydney.
- NIEBUHR, REINHOLD., *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, London, 1934.
- OPPERT, C., *On the Weapons, Army Organisation and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, Madras and London, 1880.
- PANDEY, R. B., *Purāṇa Index* (Political), Vol. I, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras, 1957.
- PANDEY, S. L., *Kautilya ki Rājyavyavasthā*, Arya Nagar, Lucknow, V. S. 2013.
- *Bhīṣma kā Rājadharmā*, Arya Nagar, Lucknow, V. S. 2012.
- *Manu ka Rājadharmā*, Arya Nagar, Lucknow.
- *Janatantravāda-Rāmāyaṇa aur Mahābhārata kālīna*, Avadha Publishing House, Lucknow, Samvat 2007.
- *Śukra ki Rājanīti*, Arya Nagar, Lucknow.
- PARGITER, F. E., *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, Oxford University Press, London, 1922.
- PRABHU, P. N., *Hindu Social Organisation*, Popular Book Depot. Bombay, 1954.
- PUSALKAR, A. D., *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhawan, Chaupatty, Bombay, 1955.
- RADHAKRISHNAN, SIR. S., *Indian Philosophy*, 2 Vols, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1929, 1931.
- RAGHAVAN, V., *The Indian Heritage*, Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, 1956.

- RAO, N J., *The Age of the Mahābhārata War*, Bezwada, 1931.
- RAPSON, E J, (Ed) *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, S. Chand & Co. Fountain, Delhi, 1955.
- RICE, E. P., *The Mahābhārata : Analysis and Index*, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1934.
- ROCKHILL, W. W., *The Life of Buddha*, London, 1884.
- ROGERS, R. A. P., *Short History of Ethics* (Greek and Modern), Macmillan and Co. Ltd, St. Martin's Street, London, 1945.
- ROY, S. L., *War and Immorality*, Kitāba Mahala, Allahabad. (N. D.)
- SALETORE, B. N., *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, The Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1958.
- SARKAR, B. K., *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Panini Office, Allahabad, 1937.
- *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus*, A Study in comparative Politics, Chakravarty, Chatterjee and Co., 15 College Square, Calcutta, 1939.
- SCHWEITZER, A., *Civilisation and Ethics*. Adam and Charles, London, W. I., 1949.
- SEN, A. K., *Hindu Political Thought*, Calcutta, 1926.
- SHAMASASTRY, R., *Evolution of Indian Polity*, University of Calcutta, 1920.
- SHARMA, M. R., *Mahābhārata Aura Srikr̥ṣṇa*, Bhīṣma & Bros., Patakapur, Kanpur, 1950.
- SHARMA, R. S., *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions In Ancient India*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna. 1959.
- SHUKLA, L. R., *Nītiśāstra*, Sanmarga Press, Banaras, 1949.
- SIDDHANTA, K. N., *Society in the Heroic Age—A comparative study*. Kegan Paul Trench Trubner, London, 1929.
- SINHA, H. N., *Sovereignty in Ancient India*, Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, 1938.

- SIRCAR, D. C., *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol I, University of Calcutta, 1942.
- SMITH, H. N., *Ethics*, Penguin Series, 1956.
- SORENSÖN, S., *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* with short explanations and a concordance to the Bombay & Calcutta Editions, P. C. Ray's Translation, Pt. I-XIII, London, 1904-1925.
- SPELLMAN, J. W., *Political Theory of Ancient India*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964.
- SUKTHANKAR, V. S., *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*. The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Bombay, 1957.
- SWAMI, P. J., *Warfare in Ancient India*, I Ed. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.
- THEDANI, N. V., *Introduction to the Mystery of Mahābhārata*.
- TILAK, B. G., *Śrī Bhagavadgītā-Rāhasya or Karma-Yoga-Sāstra*, in 2 Vols. Translation by B. B. Sukthankar, Poona, 1935-6.
- UPADHYAYA, B. D., *Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa*, Shāradā, Mandir, Banaras, 1953.
- VAIDYA, C. V., *Mahābhārata*, A criticism, The Bombay Book Depot, Girgaon, Bombay, 1904.
- *Epic India*, Bombay, 1907.
- *Mahābhārata-Mimāṃsā*, Indian Press Ltd., Poona, V. S. 1917.
- VAJPAI, A. P., *Hindū Rājyaśāstra*, Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan, Prayāga, V. S. 1998.
- VARMA, K. L., *Pāścātya Rājanītika Vicārakon kā Itihāsa*, Nandkishore & Bros, Banaras, 1958.
- VARMA, V. P., *Studies in Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations*. Motilal Banarasidas, Banaras. (N. D.)
- VISHWANATH, S. V., *International Law in Ancient India*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1925.

- VORA, DHAIRYABALA P., *Evolution of Morals in the Epics* (Mahābhārat and Rāmāyaṇa), Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay-7, 1959.
- WHITE, A. B., *Ethics for Unbelievers*, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1949.
- WHITNEY, F. L., *The Elements of Research* (third ed.) Prentice Hall. Inc. New York.
- WILLIAM, P., *The Principles of Morals and Political Philosophy*, 1910.
- WILLOUGHBY, *The Ethical Basics of Political Authority*, The Macmillan Co., 1930.
- WINTERNITZ, M., *History of Indian Literature*, English Trans. 2 Vols. University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1927, 1933.
- ZIMMER, H., *Philosophies of India*, Meridian Books, New York, 1956.

III SELECT ARTICLES

- AIYER, K. S. RANGASWAMI, Warfare in Ancient India, *The Aryan Path*, Vol. IX, 1938, pp. 502-7.
- AIYER, P. R. CHIDAMBAR, So-called Geographical and Astronomical Evidence to the Mahābhārata Problem, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. IV, 1946, pp. 35-44.
- ALTEKAR, A. S., Ancient Indian Polity and Modern Constitutional Problems, *Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol. IX, 1943, pp. 1-13.
- ATHAVALA, V. B., The co-ordination of Bhārata Events from the Exile of the Pāṇḍavas to the death of Bhīṣma by determining the tithi of each important event, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. IV, 1947, pp. 125-58.
- Date of Kuru War, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. IV, 1947, pp. 229-33.
- The Exact date of the Kuru War, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. III, 1945, pp. 11-25.

- BANERJEE, B. C., Aryan Morality in the Brāhmaṇas, K. B. Pathak commemoration Volume, pp. 15-22.
- BANERJEE, N. C., Politics and Political Ideas of the Mahābhārata, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 94-9; 323-30, 489-500.
- BELAVALKAR, S. K., The Origin and Function of the State According to the Rājadharmā Parva, *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXIX, 1948, pp. 293-301.
- BHATTACHARYA, H. D., The meaning of Dharma, *Proceedings and Transactions of the ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, 1937, pp. 640-57.
- BHATTACHARYA, T., The Date of the Bhārata War, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, 1950, pp. 1-76.
- Date of the Bhārata War, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, 1951, pp. 315-35.
- BHATTACHARYA, U. C., Moral Ideas in epics in respect of property, *Modern Review*, Oct. 1933, pp. 399-402.
- BUDDHA PRAKASH, Mahābhārata—Eka Aitihāsika Adhyayana, *Nāgrī Pracārīṇī Patrikā*, V. S. 2014, Volume IV, pp. 269-92.
- CHAMUPATI., Samrājya of Yudhiṣṭhira, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, pp. 523-30.
- CHANDRAVARKAR, G. A., Trend of Hindu Ethical Thought, *The Indian Review*, Feb. 1936, pp. 92-3.
- CHAUDHARI, R., A Short note on the principles of Taxation in Ancient India, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. VII, 1949, pp. 66-7.
- DAFTARI, K. L., The Date of the Mahābhārata War, *Proceedings and Transactions of All-India Oriental Conference*, Twelfth Session, Banaras Hindu University, 1943-4, Vol. II. pp. 481-9.

- DEB, H. K., When Kurus fought Pāṇḍavas, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI, 1925, pp. 211-20.
- Kautilyan Arthasastra on forms of Government, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, 1938, pp. 366-79.
- DIKSHIT, B. K., Kingship in Yājñavalkya Smṛti, *Uttara Bhārati*, July, 1958, Vol. V, No. I, pp. 33-44.
- DIKSHITAR, V. R. R., Dharma-vijaya, A New Interpretation, *K. B. Pathak commemoration volume*, pp. 280-6.
- Society and state in ancient India, *The Aryan Path*, Vol. XI, 1940, pp. 82-8.
- DIVANJI, P. C., Authorship and Date of the Bhārata Epic and the Bhagavadgeeta, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. IV, 1947, pp. 113-24.
- GANGULY, J. N. C., Philosophy of Dharma (Law), *Indian Historical quarterly*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 575-86.
- Principles of Hindu Taxation, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 129-46.
- GHOSH, N. N., The Rāmāyaṇa and the Māhābhārata, A Sociological study, *Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Pt. II, 1925, pp. 361-406.
- GHOSHAL, U. N., Benoy Kumar Sarkar's criticism of Hindu Political Theories—a reply, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 420-30.
- Kingship and kingly administration in the Atharva Veda, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XX, nos. 1-2, 1944, pp. 105-14.
- Kingship in the R̥gveda, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XX, no. 1, 1944, pp. 43-52.
- On some Recent Interpretations of the Mahābhārata, Theory of Kingship, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Khanda, XXXI, no. 3, 1955.
- On the Hindu Theories of Social contract and Divine

- Right, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, 1948, pp. 68-71.
- The Brahmanical Conception of the Science of Politics, *Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, 1922, Pt. I, pp. 53-64.
- On a few Technical Terms in the Hindu Revenue system, *Indian Historical Quaterly*, Vol. VII, pp. 384-9.
- GODE, P. K., Notes on the use of fire-appliances in Ancient India, Greece and Rome, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, VI, 1949, pp. 221-9.
- GOPAL, L., The Date of the Sukraniti, *The Modern Review*, Vol. CXIII, pp. 404-408, 473-483.
- IYENGAR, R. R., Mahābhārata Philosophy : Mokṣadharmā, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 509-15.
- JHAVERI, K. M., Ethic Discourses of Bhīṣma, *Bhāratiya, Vidyā*, Vol. VI, 1940, pp. 36-43.
- JOSHI, N. P., Prācīna Bhārata Men Sainya aurā Śāstra, *Bhārati*, No. 3, 1959-60, pp. 5-20.
- KANE, P. V., The Rājāsāstras of Brhaspati, Uśanas, Bhāradvāja ad Viśālākṣa, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XI, Pt. 2. 1942-3, pp. 73-83.
- KATRE, S. M., Dharmopanishad in the Mahābhārata, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. I, 1943, pp. 118-22.
- KEITH, A. B., The battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, pp. 831-44.
- The Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, pp. 1138-43.
- KUMARASWAMY., Hindu Theories of State and Social compact, *Hindustan Review*, Allahabad, May-June, 1918.
- KURTAKOTI., The influence of Mahābhārata over the people of India, *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Resecrch Institute*, Vol. XIX, pp. 1-7.
- LAW, N. N., Machinery of Adminstration in the Kauṭilya,

Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 31-8, 441 ff. 614 ff.

— The Six Guṇas in Kauṭilya, *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 449-61.

MAJUMDAR, S. V., The Hindu System of Morality or the Philosophy of the three Guṇas, *VII All-India Oriental Conference*, 1933, pp. 373-6.

MITRA, S. M., War-Philosophy : Ancient and Modern, *Hibbert Journal*, 1916.

• MUKHERJEE, P., The Principles and Methods of Taxation in Ancient India, *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*. Pt. III, 1927, pp. 1-14.

NAG, KALIDAS., Benoy Kumar Sarkar and the 'New Machiavelli', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 650-54.

— Les Theories Diplomatiques de l' 'Inde Ancienne et 1' ' Arthaśāstra (Paris, 1923) Translated by V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, Pts. 1-3, 1926-7, pp. 15-36.

PANDEY, R. B., Kauṭilya on the relation of Politics to other social sciences, *Prajña* (B.H.U. Journal), 1958, Pt. I, pp. 104-9.

— Vedic Origin of Indian Republics, *Indian History Congress*, 15th Session, 1952, pp. 79-85.

— Hymns of Restoration in the Atharva Veda : Their Historical Significance, *Prajña* (B.H.U. Journal), Pt. II, 1958, pp. 13-8.

PANTULU, J. R., Judicial Procedure in Ancient India, *Journal of Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. IV. Pts. 1-2. 1929, pp. 33-45.

PARAMAVITANA, S., Some aspects of the Divinity of kings in Ancient India, *Proceedings and Transactions of the 16th session of All-India Oriental Conference*, 1955, pp. 217-32.

- PARGITAR, F. E., The Nations of India at the Battle between the Pāṇdavas and Kauravas, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, pp. 309-36.
- RAGHAVAN, V., Notes on some Mahābhārata commentaries, *Kane commemoration Volume*, pp. 351-5.
- RAJU, P. T., Morality and Self-Realisation, *Kane commemoration Volume*, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1941, pp. 362-9.
- RAO, M. R., The Purāṇic date of the Mahābhārata, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. II, 1945, pp. 124-143.
- RAO, M. A. VENKATA., Bradley and the Bhagavad-gītā, *The Aryan Path*, October, 1931.
- RAY, H. C., Notes on War in Ancient India, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, 1927, pp. 1-80.
- RAY, HEMCHANDRA, Was State Socialism known in Ancient India, *Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, 1922, pp. 429-446.
- RAY, J. C., Fire Arms in Ancient India, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, 1932, pp. 85 ff.
- RAY CHOUDHARY, H. C., "The Mahābhārata and some aspects of Its Culture", *The Cultural Heritage of India*, I, pp. 98-107.
- SAH, PRAJAPATI., Morals in a Changing Society-I, *The Leader*, 14th March, 59, p. 3, of the Sunday Magazine.
- SAMPURNANANDA HON. SHRI., Ethics in the Upanishads, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, V, 1947, pp. 23-42.
- SARKAR, B. K., Ghoshal Defending Himself, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1926, p. 430.
- Hindu Politics in Italian, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 146-57; 353-72.
- Hindu Political Philosophy, *Political Science Quarterly* (Columbia University) December, 1918.

- On Some Methods of Conclusions in Hindu Politics, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 848-63.
- Hindu Theory of International Relations, *American Political Science Review*, August, 1919.
- The Theory of the constitution in Hindu Political Philosophy : A study in Comparative Politics, *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, 1925, Pt. II, pp. 497-525.
- SASTRY, A. M., Saṃghabheda : A Historical Survey, *Bhārati*, No. 3, 1959-60, pp. 69-81.
- SASTRY, K. A. NILAKANTHA., Royal Power in Ancient India, *Indian History Congress*, 7th session, 1944, pp. 43-50.
- SASTRY, V. A. RANGASWAMI., Dharma : Its definition and Authority, *Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. VII, Nov. 1949, Pt. I, pp. 29-42.
- SENGUPTA, P. C., Date of the Bhārata War—A Rejoinder, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, 1950, pp. 203-13.
- Date of the Bhārata Battle of Mahābhārata, *Journal of the Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. X, 1952-3, pp. 21-38.
- The Date of the Mahābhārata War : Calcutta, *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, twelfth session, Banaras Hindu University, 1943-4, Vol. II, pp. 493-5.
- SHAMASASTRY, R., Cāṇakya's land and Revenue Policy (4th cent. B. C.), *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 5, 47, 110.
- Cāṇakya's Land and Revenue Policy, *Indian Antiquary*, 1905, p. 5-10.
- SHARMA, R. S., Rule and Property, Family and Caste in the Origin of States in Ancient India, *Indian History Congress*, 14th session, 1951.

- The Vedic Gaṇa and the origin of the Post Vedic Republics, *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, 1953, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 413 ff.
- The Vidatha, *Indian History Congress*, 16th session, 1952, pp. 79-85.
- SHIVARAM, RATNA., The Ethics of the Bhagavadgītā, *Brahma-vidyā* (Adyar Library Bulletin) Vol. X, Pt. I.
- SINHA, B. P., The Kauṭīliyan State and a Welfare-State, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, June, 1954, pp. 178-94.
- The King in the Kauṭīliyan State, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Sept. 1954, pp. 277-308.
- SWAMI, BHUMANANDA., Some more points of Mr. Athavali's articles on Mahābhārata events, *Journal of Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. V, 1948, pp. 193-202.
- Priority of Rāmāyana to the Mahābhārata (Brochure), Gauhati, Assam. (N. D.)
- UTGIKAR, N. B., The mention of Mahābhārata in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, *All India Oriental Conference*, 1919, pp. 46-61.
-

INDEX

- Abul Fazl-I-Altani, on ten-fold vice of kings, 142.
- Abhijāta Bala* (lineage), 233.
- Abhimanyu, an important character of the Mbh., 262, 271-3, 289, 301-2.
- Abhyankar, K.V., On the date of the Mbh., 24.
- Ācāra*, good conduct, a term for ethics, 71-2, 321, 350.
- Ācāraṅga Sutta*, 127-8, 172.
- Ācharya, N.R., 78.
- Acquinos, St. Thomas, 7.
- Acton, Lord, 3.
- Adharma Sandhi*, a kind of treaty, 41.
- Adharma Vijaya*, unrighteous conquest, 283. See also *adharma yuddha*.
- Adharma yuddha*, unrighteous fighting, 242, 246, 249, 256-7, 356.
- Adhipati*, a title, 180.
- Adhyātma Vidyā*, the spiritual knowledge, 47.
- Agastya, a sage, 147.
- Agni, a god, 91; king as embodiment of, 120-1.
- Agnihotra, a sacrifice, 91-2, 298.
- Agni-prayoga*, a policy, 233.
- Agni Purāṇa*, on terms of polity, 31-2, 35; on *vidyās*, 49-50, 349; on self-control, 133-4; on diplomatic agents, 227; on the behaviour of army, 258; on army-organisation, 264.
- Agrawal, V.S., 137, 215.
- Aila, an ancient king, 144.
- Ain-I-Akbarī*, 142.
- Aiśvarya Śakti*, power of a king, 233.
- Aiyangar, K.V. Rangaswami, 123.
- Aja, an ancient king, 144.
- Ajātaśatru, an ancient king, 187.
- Ajñātavāsa* (exile incognito) of the Pāṇḍavas, 224, 260.
- Ākhyāna*, Mbh. described as an—, 15.
- Ākranda, a member of *Maṇḍala* (the circle of states), 210.
- Ākrandasāra, a member of *Maṇḍala* (the circle of states), 210.
- Akṣauhiṇī*, an army unit, 127, 276-7.
- Ālamba *Yajña*, a sacrifice, 159.
- Alambuṣa, a warrior, 293.
- Alarka, an ancient king, 144.
- Alexander, the great, 127.
- Altekar, A.S., 170, 181.
- Amarkoṣa*, on *Trivarga*, 53.
- Amātya* (minister), a constituent of state, 103, 213, 233, 350.
- Amātya-bala*, king's strength, 233.
- Ambā, a daughter of the king of Kāśī, 282.
- Ambālikā, a daughter of the king of Kāśī, 282.
- Ambariṣa, an ancient king, 144.
- Ambikā, a daughter of the king of Kāśī, 282.
- Ambaṭṭha Suttanta*, 180.
- Ambrose, St., 7.
- Ānanda, a famous disciple of the Buddha, 187-8.
- Anaṅga, an ancient king, 109.
- Anāraṇya, an ancient king, 144.
- Anarchy, its evils, 106.

- Aṅga, an ancient kingdom, 117.
 Aṅgada, Rāma's ambassador, 218, 221.
 Aṅgariṣṭha, an ancient king, 166.
 Aṅgas (constituents of a state), 103, 321, 350-51.
 Aṅgirā, a sage, 40.
 Aṅguttara Nikāya, 173.
 Anjaria, J., 38, 42, 74, 105, 113, 122, 124.
 Antialcidas, 215.
 Anuvinda, a king of Avantī, 126-7.
 Ānvīkṣikī (philosophy), a branch of knowledge, 32, 48-50, 349.
 Āpaddharma, Morality under abnormal circumstances, 21, 78, 97, 241, 252, 267, 315-47.
 Āpattikāla, times of distress, 316-9, 325-7, 329, 339, 342-3, 345-6.
 See also Āpaddharma.
 Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, 76, 291, 338, 345.
 Apte, 138, 171, 174, 199.
 Arājaka rājya, 171-3.
 Arjuna, one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, 20-21, 53, 60, 65, 81, 145, 165, 174, 178-9, 206, 226, 241, 254, 262, 265, 267-8, 275-7, 284, 286, 295, 308-10, 313-4, 357.
 Ari (enemy), 192, 209, 212, 354.
 See also Śatru.
 Arimitra, a member of maṇḍala (the circle of states), 209.
 Arimitramitra, a member of maṇḍala (the circle of states), 209.
 Aristotle, 5-7, 113.
 Arṣiṣeṇa, 20.
 Artha, an end of life, 16, 34, 36, 42, 51-6, 60-61, 63-9, 92, 114, 125, 153, 233, 349, 353.
 Arthaśāstra, a term for politics, 31, 34, 40, 49, 67.
 Arthaśāstra, Mbh. described as an, 16.
 Arthaśāstra, Composed by Bṛhaspati, 33.
 Arthaśāstra, of Kautilya, 15, 31, 35, 46-7, 50, 58, 62, 64, 67, 85, 89, 102-3, 105, 112-3, 121, 123, 127-8, 131, 133-6, 140, 142, 153, 158, 161-2, 164, 172-3, 176, 178, 182, 185, 193, 199, 201-2, 205, 210, 213-5, 217-8, 222, 227, 234, 242-5, 270, 273, 279, 294, 317, 322, 348-9, 351, 355.
 Arthaśāstric school of thought, 57, 59, 62, 69, 125, 335.
 Artha Vijaya, a type of conquest, 245.
 Āryadeva, 257.
 Āsana, one of the six expedients (śāḍgunya), 196, 354.
 Asaṅga Karma, detached action, 96, 99.
 Aśoka, an ancient king, 24, 27, 215, 248.
 Āśramas, the stages of life, 50, 55, 56, 90, 92, 95, 113, 152, 161, 163.
 Āśharma dharma, specific duties for the different stages of life, 45, 72, 78, 90, 157, 161, 163, 350.
 Āśrama Samuccaya, the order of āśramas 95.
 Āśrama Vikalpa, the order of āśramas 95.
 Aṣṭādhyāyī, 23.
 Aṣṭaka, an ancient king, 144.
 Aṣṭāṅga rājya, 234, See also Aṣṭāmaka rājya.
 Aṣṭātmaka rājya, 104. See also Aṣṭāṅga rājya.
 Asura Vijaya, a kind of conquest, 244.

- Āsura Vijayi*, the demonial conqueror, 244.
Āsura Yuddha, a kind of fighting, 244.
Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra, 23, 24, 28.
 Āśvapati, an ancient king, 161.
 Āśvatthāmā, the son of Droṇācārya, 21, 145, 262, 277, 284, 288, 290, 302, 304, 306, 309-14, 336, 357.
 Āśvamedha Yajña, a sacrifice, 155.
Ātatayins, their kinds, 211.
Atharva Veda, 72.
 Athenian, 4.
 Athens, 7.
 Atibala, an ancient king, 109.
Ātmatuṣṭi(self satisfaction), a source of *Dharma*, 75.
Ātma Vidyā, the science of self, 48.
 Atri, a sage, 40.
 Augustine, St., 7.
 Augustus, 214.
 Aurobindo, Shri, 51.
 Auśanasa, the followers of Uśanasa (Śukra), 48.
 Auśija, an ancient king, 144.
 Avanti, 126-8.
 Avignon, 8.
 Avikṣita, an ancient king, 166.
 Āyu, an ancient king, 144.
Āyurveda, a science, 49.
 Babhruvāhana, a Pāṇḍava warrior, 265.
 Bāhudantaka, the abridged form of treatise, composed by Brahmā, 39.
Bala (army), a constituent of state, 103, 213, 241.
Bala (Valour and strength), 137, 214, 233.
 Balarāma, 144, 179, 246, 310.
 Bāli, an ancient king, 151, 253.
 Bāṇa, 28.
 Banerjee, J.N., 121.
 Bārhaspatya, a school of thought, 47.
 Bārhaspatya, the abridged form of treatise, composed by Brahmā, 39.
Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra, 275.
Bārhaspatya Sūtra, 58, 61-2, 67, 199.
 Basham, A.L., 170.
 Baudhāyana, 268, 282, 336.
Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, 77, 156, 268, 282, 284, 336.
 Bedekar, 95-6.
 Beni Prasad, 32, 170, 175, 238.
 Bhagabhadra, an ancient king, 215.
 Bhagadatta, a character in the *Mbh.*, 273.
Bhagavadgītā, 47, 81, 87-8, 184, 227.
Bhāgavat Purāṇa, 37, 40, 85.
 Bhagawan Das, Dr., 53, 58, 63, 73.
 Bhagīratha, an ancient king, 144.
 Bhālīka, an ancient king, 144.
 Bhambhri, 104-5, 170.
 Bhandarkar, 104-5, 110, 122, 126, 170.
 Bhāradvāja, 344.
 Bhāradvāja, Kaṇika, 252.
 Bhārata, 23-4, 28.
 Bhārata, an ancient king, 144.
Bhārata Bhāva Dīpikā, Nilakaṇṭha's Commentary on the *Mbh.*, 15.
 Bhartṛhari, 61, 83.
 Bhattacharya, H.D., 74.
 Bhattacharya, S.V., 298.
Bheda(creating dissension), a policy, 41, 185, 189, 200-1, 204-8, 233, 250, 259, 317, 329, 354.

- Bhīma (same as Bhimasena), 20, 53-4, 56, 65-6, 164, 254, 258-9, 261-2, 265-6, 271, 284, 299-300, 304, 307, 309-10, 313-4, 357.
- Bhīṣma, 33, 36-9, 42-5, 54, 67, 81, 85, 92, 97-9, 106-110, 120, 130, 144, 156-7, 167-9, 172-3, 176-7, 181, 184-6, 203, 219, 225, 251-2, 254-5, 261, 265, 268, 273-4, 279, 282-3, 287, 294-5, 302, 314-5, 321, 323, 326-7, 329, 333, 337-8, 341.
- Bhojas, 178.
- Bhr̥gu, 79.
- Bhūriśravā, 145, 273, 303-4, 307.
- Bhuta Yajña, one of the five great sacrifices (*Pañca Mahāyajñas*), 92.
- Bible, the, 10, 17.
- Bluntschilli, 1, 105.
- Bosanquet, 14, 113.
- Brahmā, 38-42, 66, 88, 108-111.
- Brahmacārya (*Celibacy*), 80.
- Brahmacāryāśrama, 55, 90-91, 93, 162.
- Brahman, 82, 281-2, 291, 293, 297, 300, 307-8, 333-40, 342, 345-6, 356.
- Brāhmaṇas, 68, 83, 86, 89, 95, 109-110, 115-8, 136, 138, 144, 147, 151, 159, 160, 162, 169, 216, 225, 270, 280, 299, 321, 324, 326-7, 351.
- Brahma Yajña, a sacrifice, 92.
- Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, 40.
- Bṛhadbala, a character of the *Mbh.*, 273, 302.
- Bṛhadratha, an ancient king, 338.
- Bṛhaspati, 33, 39-40, 47, 60, 67, 69, 130, 147, 194, 203, 252, 275.
- Buch, 80.
- Buddhanta, 38.
- Buddha Gayā, 215.
- Buddhi Bala (wisdom), 233.
- Buddhism, 215.
- Buddhist eight fold path, 100.
- Buddhist Philosophy, 100, 179.
- Bühler, 26, 174, 249.
- Burma, 215.
- Caidya, an ancient king, 144.
- Cakra-rakṣakas, 278.
- Cammak Inscription of Pravarasena. II, 248.
- Camū, army or an army unit, 277.
- Camūpati (*Senāpati*), an army-officer, 223.
- Cāṇakya-nīti Darpaṇa, 232.
- Cāṇḍālas, 327, 342-3.
- Candra, a god, 121.
- Candragupta Maurya, an ancient king, 215.
- Candragupta Vikramāditya, 215.
- Cara, spies (same as *Cāra*), 214, 227.
- Cāra, spies (same as *Cara*), 227, 335.
- Cariatt, 14.
- Catholic Church, 9.
- Catuṣṭatikā, 257.
- Caturvarga, the four-fold end of human life, 50.
- Ceylon, 69, 215.
- Chandravarkar, 74.
- Chatterjee and Dutta 99-100.
- Chatterjee, H.L., 191-2, 198-201, 221.
- Chanda, a *Vedāṅga*, 49.
- Chāndogyopaniṣad, 15, 37-8, 161.
- China, 215.
- Christ, 7-8.
- Christian, 7, 17.*
- Christian Era, 127.

- Church, 8-10.
- Citrasena, 265.
- Citrāśva, an ancient king, 144.
- Combodian, 28.
- Communism, 13.
- Communist, 12.
- Daftari, K.L., 26.
- Daivika Yuddha*, a kind of fighting, 242.
- Dakṣa, an ancient king, 144.
- Dama*, a moral virtue, 81.
- Damana, an ancient king, 144.
- Damayantī, wife of king Nala, 145-6.
- Damśa Yoga*, a devise to destroy the army of an enemy, 243.
- Dāna*, making gifts, 41, 200, 204-8, 232-3, 250, 259, 329, 354.
- Dānapati*, an officer, 181.
- Daṇḍa*, army, an element of state, 103, 213, 233, 351.
- Daṇḍa*, coercion, 32, 40, 101-2, 122, 158, 352.
- Daṇḍa*, war (a policy), 41, 200-201, 204-8, 250, 253, 259, 329, 354.
- Daṇḍanīti*, 31-3, 36, 66-7, 69-70, 107, 109, 124-5, 166, 348-50, contents and scope of, 41-2; functions of, 46-7; necessity of, 42-6; origin of, 38-41; relation with other *Vidyās*, 47-50; and *Trivarga*, 50ff.
- Dante, 9.
- Das, A.K., 26.
- Daśartha, an ancient king, 144.
- Date, G.T., 194, 198.
- Davids, 38, 111, 180.
- Deśa*, a term for state, 103.
- Deśa dharma*, a kind of code, 72, 77, 154.
- Deśikas*, preceptor, 278.
- De Utrake Protestate, 9.
- Deva ṛṇa*, one of the three debts, 162.
- Deva Yajña*, a kind of sacrifice, 92.
- Dhana bala*, a power, 233.
- Dhanurveda*, a science, 49.
- Dharma*, 16, 21, 29, 34, 36, 41-5, 48, 50, 51, 53-70, 72-75, 77-79, 82, 83, 89, 90, 92, 96, 98, 101, 102, 106-108, 112, 114, 120, 122, 124-5, 129, 130, 135, 137, 146, 148, 149-53, 233, 238, 242, 247, 270, 308, 316, 318-9, 321, 341, 343, 345, 349-53, 358.
- Dharma*, P.C., 216, 273, 285, 295.
- Dharmaśāstra*, 16, 40, 49, 52, 75, 122.
- Dharmaśāstric School*, 57, 62, 69, 125.
- Dharma Vijaya*, Brahmanical tradition about, 247-9, Buddhist tradition about, 247-8.
- Dharma Vijayī*, a conqueror, 244.
- Dharma Vyādha*, a kind of fighting, 138.
- Dharma Vijaya*, righteous conquest, 244-5, 248-9.
- Dharma Yuddha*, righteous fighting, 242, 246, 249, 256-7, 356.
- Dhaumya, 20.
- Dhṛṣṭaratha, an ancient king, 144.
- Dhṛṣṭadyumna, 260, 273, 301, 306-7, 314.
- Dhṛtarāṣṭra, 18-20, 83, 143-5, 148, 163, 207, 210, 218-20, 228, 249, 258, 260, 284, 313.
- Dhundhumāra, an ancient king, 144.
- Dickinson, 4.
- Diderot, 238.
- Dīgha Nikāya*, 111, 185, 187, 248.
- Dikshitar, 32-3, 35, 40, 46, 50,

- 54, 58, 67, 105, 192, 202-3, 213, 258, 263, 294, 296.
- Dilīpa, an ancient king, 144.
- Ḍimbhaka, 299.
- Divatīa, H.V., 99.
- Divodāsa, an ancient king, 144, 297.
- Douglas, 14.
- Draupadī, 19-20, 145, 259, 310.
- Dr̥ḍharatha, an ancient king, 144.
- Droṇācārya, 62, 254, 273, 281, 284-6, 290, 296, 302, 305-7, 314, 336.
- Drupada, an ancient king, 19, 216, 218-9, 225, 259, 261, 273, 296-7, 301.
- Duḥśāsana, 224, 273, 303, 307, 314.
- Durga, an element of state, 103, 213, 214, 233, 351.
- Duryodhana, 19-21, 62, 117, 126, 141, 145, 194, 207, 218, 220, 246, 253-4, 258-62, 264, 266-67, 271, 273, 276-7, 298, 301-2, 305, 309-12, 314.
- Duṣyanta, 130, 144, 149.
- Dūta, 115, 214, 355.
- Dutta, M.N., 90, 105, 198, 264, 344.
- Dutta, R.C., 17, 25, 227.
- Dvaidhībāva, one of the six expedients (*śāḍgunya*) 183, 193, 198, 354.
- Dvaipāyana, 309.
- Dvairājya, a type of state, 127-8.
- Dvairatha Yuddha, a kind of fighting, 245-6.
- Dvanda Yuddha, dual fight, 245.
- Dvāpara Age, 25, 43-4, 98, 131, 145, 342.
- Dvārikā, 178, 280.
- England, 9.
- Ethics, in the *Mbh*, 71—102.
- Fa-hien, 215.
- Fascism, 13.
- Fascist, 12.
- Fleet, J.F., 128, 173.
- Florentine, 3.
- Foy, 174.
- France, 8-9.
- Gadā Yuddha*, (Club fight), 245.
- Gaṇa*, (republic) 173-86, 353-4.
- Gaṇa Mukhya*, (an officer of a *gaṇa* *rājya*) 180.
- Gāndhārī, 163, 273, 311, 313.
- Gandhiji, 13-4.
- Ganguli, J.N.C., 324.
- Garner, 1.
- Gautama, 75, 79, 291, 336.
- Gautama Buddha, 184, 187-8.
- Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, 76, 85, 298, 324.
- Gaya, an ancient king, 144, 166.
- Gāyatrī Mantra*, 68.
- Gettel, 2.
- Gewalt, Die Koningliche, 174.
- Ghaṭotkaca, 293.
- Ghosh, N.N., 116, 174, 238.
- Ghoshal, U.N., 33, 115, 122.
- Gilsius, 1.
- Godwin, 11.
- Gopal, Lallanji, 15.
- Greece, 6.
- Greek, 1, 4-5, 12, 127, 129.
- Green, 12.
- Gregory VIII, 8.
- Grāsthāśrama*, a stage of life, 55-6, 90-1, 93, 95, 162.
- Grāsthāśramī*, a house-holder, 92.
- Groce, B., 14.
- Guhyakas, 206.
- Guṇa dharma*, a type of *Dharma*, 78, 96, 350.

- Guṇātīla*, the ideal man of the *Gītā*, 81.
 Guṇa Varmā, A Kashmirian king, 215.
 Gupta, 128.
Guptacara, 214.
Gurudakṣiṇā, 91.
 Haṁsa, 299.
 Hanumāna, 98, 221.
 Harivarṇa, 28-9.
 Harṣa, 215, 221.
 Hastināpura, 18, 20, 220, 276, 312.
 Hastings, J., 26.
 Havidhra, an ancient king, 144.
 Hayagrīva, an ancient king, 143.
 Hegel, 12, 14.
 Held, 23.
 Heliodorus, 215.
 Hermann, 3, 14.
 Hildebrand, 7.
 Hiraṇyākṣa, 253.
 Hiraṇyakaśipu, 36, 253.
 Hiraṇya Varma, 216, 218, 220.
 Hiriyaṇa, M., 99-100.
 Hobbes, 11, 118.
 Hopkins, 24, 26, 73, 118 122, 174.
 Huen-T-Sang, 215, 221.
 Hultzsch, 249.
 Hume, 11.
 Ikṣvāku, an ancient king, 144.
 Indian Philosophy, 100-1.
 Indra, 43, 56, 95, 120-1, 147, 167, 237, 252-4., 257.
Indrajāla, 200.
 Indralok, 161.
 Īśvara, 177.
 Italy, 9-10.
 Italian, 9.
Itihāsa, *Mbb.* as an, 15, 23.
 Jahnu, an ancient king, 144.
 Jain Philosophy, 100.
 Janaka, an ancient king, 144, 163-4, 268.
 Janajaṅgha, 144.
Janapada, an element of state, 103, 233, 250.
Janapada, a term for state, 103, 250.
Jānapada-dharma, a classification of *Dharma*, 154, 213, 214.
 Janamejaya, 23, 26, 144.
 Jarāsandha, 53, 115, 283, 299-301.
 Jarett, 142.
Jātaka, 38.
Jāti-Dharma, a classification of *Dharma*, 72, 77, 154.
 Jaya, a name of the *Mbb.*, 23-4.
 Jaya, a character in the *Mbb.*, 145.
 Jayadratha, 145, 226, 262, 273, 276, 304, 305.
 Jayasawal, K.P., 25, 33, 35-6., 127-8, 170-71, 173-4, 183-4., 223.
 Jayatsena, a character in the *Mbb.*, 273.
 Jha & Misra, 99.
 Jhaveri, K.M., 192.
 Joad, 2-3, 6, 14.
 John of Paris, 9.
 John of Salisbury, 7.
 Jolly, 174.
 Junāgadha, Ins. of Skandagupta, 46.
 Jyāmākha, a character in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 283.
Jyotiṣ, a *Vedāṅga*, 49.
 Kādambari, 28.
 Kadambas, 338.

- Kakṣasena, an ancient king, 144.
 Kakṣeya, an ancient king, 144.
 Kakṣivān, an ancient king, 144.
 Kālakavṛkṣiya, 225-6, 229.
 Kali Age, 24-5, 43, 98, 131, 145.
 Kālidāsa, 56, 127, 155, 247, 296, 318.
 Kalmāṣapāda, an ancient king, 147.
 Kalpa, a *Vedāṅga*, 49.
 Kāma, one of the *puruṣārthas*, 16, 34, 36, 42, 50, 52-7, 59-68, 92, 114, 153, 233, 349, 353.
 Kāmandaka, 31-2, 35, 45, 50, 69, 101-2, 140-2, 131, 134, 145, 153, 166, 169, 200-201, 204, 214-6, 222, 227, 234, 256, 324, 349.
 Kāmandaka Nītiśāra, 58, 104, 199, 213, 351, 355, See also Kāmandaka
 Kāmaśāstra, 16.
 Kāmasūtra, 58.
 Kaṇāda, 98, 100.
 Kane, P.V., 24, 52, 74, 89, 95, 169, 210, 339, 341.
 Kaṇika, 207-8, 228, 230, 249-250, 252.
 Kaṇiṣka, 121.
 Kankhera Ins. of Śrīdharvarmā, 247-8.
 Kant, 12.
 Kaṇva, 149, 338.
 Kapila, 99.
 Kapilvastu, 179.
 Kapoor, 170-1.
 Karandikar, J.S., 25.
 Karandhama, an ancient king, 144.
 Kardama, 109.
 Karṇa, 117, 207, 224, 259, 265, 271, 273, 283, 297, 304, 308-9, 314.
 Kārṣṇaveda, 15.
 Kārtavīrya Arjuna, 115.
 Kashyap J., 188, 248.
 Kāśī, 282.
 Kaśyapa, 82.
 Kathmandu, 127.
 Kaurava, 18, 20-1, 27-9, 204, 207, 216-9, 226, 258-9, 261, 263-4, 267, 276, 285, 289-90, 298, 302-5, 312, 314, 357.
 Kauśika, 89.
 Kauṭilya, 15, 31, 34, 46, 48-50, 58, 61-2, 64, 67, 85, 103, 112-3, 121, 127, 131, 133, 139, 142, 153, 158, 161, 172-3, 185, 196, 205, 209, 213, 216-7, 222, 226, 242-4, 247, 270, 273, 279, 294, 322, 349, 351, 355.
 Kavi, abridged the treatise, composed by Brahmā, 39.
 Kāvya, abridged form of the treatise, composed by Brahmā, 39.
 Keith, 38, 72.
 Kekaya, Prince of, 273.
 Khadga Yuddha, a kind of fighting, 245.
 Khatta dhamma, 38.
 Khiste, S.N.S., 318.
 Kīrātārjunīyam, 222.
 Kīrtimāna, 109.
 Kośa, treasury, an element of state, 103, 213, 233, 321, 351.
 Kośala, 56.
 Kotikāśya, a character in the *Mbh.*, 265.
 Kotiyal, H.S., 117.
 Kratu, a sage, 40.
 Kṛṣṇa, 22, 29, 53, 59, 81, 87, 89, 141, 149, 178-9, 184, 189, 204, 206-7, 217, 220, 226-7, 234, 241, 253-4, 257, 259, 261, 264-5, 268, 270, 275, 277, 279, 280,

- 283-5, 287-300, 304-6, 308, 310-4, 354-5, 357.
- Krisnamachari, T.R., 276.
- Kṛta* Age, 43-4, 70, 98, 125.
- Kṛtavarmā*, 21, 262, 277, 288, 290, 302, 304, 309, 311-2, 314, 357.
- Kṛpācārya*, 21, 194, 201, 262, 265, 277, 286, 288, 290, 302, 309, 311-2, 314, 357.
- Kṛśāśva*, an ancient king, 144.
- Kṛtavīrya*, an ancient king, 144.
- Kṣamā*, 82.
- Kṣatradīdyā*, a term for politics, 31, 37, 38, 348.
- Kṣatriya*, a class, 37-8, 86-8, 115-8, 145, 156, 163, 179, 184, 207, 238, 241, 247, 267-8, 270-2, 274, 280-2, 286, 296, 334-5, 337, 339-42, 346, 351, 356.
- Kṣatriya-dharma*, duties of the *Kṣatriyas*, 336, 340, 346.
- Kṣemadarśī*, an ancient king, 226.
- Kṣūdrakas*, 177.
- Kṣup*, 39.
- Kṣupa*, an ancient king, 144.
- Kubera, a god, 120-21.
- Kula Dharma*, a classification of *Dharma*, 72, 77, 154.
- Kula Putra*, 173.
- Kula Rājya*, a type of state, 173, 177.
- Kulluka, 78.
- Kumārasambhavam*, 318.
- Kumārila, 28.
- Kuntī, 19, 44, 157, 211, 258-9, 309.
- Kuru, 18, 149, 211, 337.
- Kurukṣetra, 20-21, 24-7, 117, 127, 207, 216-7, 220, 226, 253, 261-3, 271-2, 276-9, 286-7, 293, 295, 307, 309, 312-3, 327, 357.
- Kuśasthalī, 288.
- Kūta Yuddha*, a kind of fighting, 242, 257.
- Lakṣāgrha, 19, 258, 259.
- Lakṣmaṇa, Rama's brother, 276.
- Lakṣmaṇa, 273.
- Lakṣmī, 40.
- Lalitavistara*, 183.
- Laṅkā, 218.
- Latin, 2.
- Law, N. N., 114, 128-9, 193, 196, 198-9, 212-3.
- Levi, S., 27.
- Licchavi family, 127-8, 183.
- Lillie, William, 2-3.
- Lobha Vijaya*, a conquest, 244-5.
- Locke, 11, 109.
- Lomaśa, 20, 149.
- London, 38.
- Machiavelli, 3, 9-12, 14, 48, 238, 358.
- Mackenzie, 2, 73.
- Mādhavasena, an ancient king, 127.
- Madhyama (madhyastha)*, a mediator, 210, 212, 354.
- Madhyama Sandhi*, a kind of treaty, 41.
- Magadha, 53, 299.
- Mahābhārata*, Assessment of, 15-8; Contents of, 18-22; Authorship of, 22-4; date of, 24-30; *Daṇḍanīti* (politics) in, 31-70 (passim); *Dharma* (ethics) in, 71-102 (passim); State in, 103-25, (passim), Monarchy and Morals in, 126-69 (passim), Non-monarchies and Morals in, 170-90 (passim), Foreign Affairs and Morals in, 191-238 (passim), Ethics of War

- in, 239-314 (passim), *Āpaddharma* in, 315-32 (passim).
- Mahābhīṣa, an ancient king, 144, 166.
- Mahājanasammata*, 112.
- Maha Padma Nanda, 25.
- Mahavagga*, 27.
- Mahāvīra, 184.
- Mahendra (Aśoka's son), 215.
- Mahendra, 241.
- Mahodārya, an ancient king, 144.
- Majumdar and Pusalkar, 210.
- Majumdar, R.C., 26, 174, 210.
- Mālavas, 177.
- Mālavikāgnimitra*, 127; 129.
- Malla Yuddha*, a kind of fighting, 245.
- Maṇḍala*, a circle of states, 208-214, 355.
- Māndhātā, 39, 43, 150.
- Mantra Śakti*, power of a king, 233.
- Mantri*, 115, 223. See also *Amātya*.
- Manu, 40, 47-8, 55-6, 58-9, 63-4, 72, 76, 78-9, 82, 90, 95, 97-8, 101-4, 107, 111-2, 119, 121, 130, 134-5, 140-41, 155, 158, 160-62, 168, 183, 193, 196, 198-200, 202-3, 214-6, 222, 229, 231, 234, 256, 268-70, 274, 279, 284, 289, 291-2, 298, 317, 323-5, 327, 336, 338-40, 344, 346.
- Manu, an ancient king, 144.
- Mānuṣa yajña*, a sacrifice, 92.
- Mānuṣa Yuddha*, a kind of fighting, 242.
- Manu Smṛti*, 15, 31, 48, 50, 55, 85, 113, 121, 133, 161, 172, 213, 297-8, 324, 341, 349, 351, 355.
- Marīci, 40.
- Mārkaṇḍeya, 20, 87, 89.
- Marsiglio of Padua, 9.
- Marutta, an ancient king, 144.
- Maskari, 298.
- Mātsya-Nyāya*, the logic of fishes, 106, 112, 171-2.
- Matsya Purāṇa*, 25, 31, 46, 49, 58, 63, 77, 133, 159, 165, 349.
- Maurya dynasty, 336, 338.
- Māyā, 199-200, 229, 246, 293.
- Mc Crindle, 127.
- Mcdonell, 17, 26, 38, 72.
- Medhātithi, 78.
- Mees, G.H., 74, 95, 102.
- Megasthenes, 24, 214.
- Meghavarna, a Ceylonese king, 215.
- Meru, Mount, 40.
- Mingti a Chinese emperor, 215.
- Misra, S.D., 318.
- Mitākṣara*, 78, 206.
- Mithilā, 89, 163, 268.
- Mitra*, ally, an element of state, 103, 192, 209, 213, 233, 351, 354.
- Mitrabhānu, an ancient king, 144.
- Mitra Dharma*, 72.
- Mitramitra*, 209.
- Mokṣa*, an end of life, 16, 36, 42, 50, 56, 62, 70, 113, 114, 125, 349-50, 358.
- Mote Hall, 179-80.
- Mṛga, an ancient king, 144.
- Mṛtyu, 120.
- Mudrārākṣasa*, 50.
- Mukundi Lal, 174.
- Mullick, 15.
- Munshi K.M., 17.
- Nag, Kalidas, 48.
- Nahuṣa, an ancient king, 115, 144, 146-7, 237.
- Nāimittika Dharma*, a type of *Dharma*, 78, 96, 350.
- Nakul, a Pāṇḍava, 20, 65, 277, 301, 313, 357.

- Nala, a king of Niṣadha, 143-146, 284.
- Namūci, a character in the *Rām*, 257.
- Nanda dynasty, 25, 338.
- Nārada, 37, 68, 139, 143, 182, 186, 189, 354.
- Naradeva*, a title of kings, 120.
- Nārāyaṇa, 23, 40, 41, 348.
- Nāukās* (Naval fighting), 278.
- Naya*, policy, 199.
- Nepal, 127, 215.
- New Guinea, 145.
- Nīlkaṇṭha, the commentator, 15, 32, 34, 94, 138, 185, 195-9, 205, 211-2, 222, 232, 234, 278, 315, 333, 335, 342.
- Nilamata Purāṇa*, 121, 164.
- Nimi, an ancient king, 144.
- Nirukta*, a *Vedāṅga*, 49.
- Niṣadha, a state, 143, 145.
- Niṣkāma Karma*, detached action, 96, 99.
- Nīti*, policy, 32, 34-35, 71, 153, 199, 350.
- Nītiśāstra*, a term for politics, 31, 34-6, 39, 41, 71, 135, 348.
- Nītiśataka*, 61-2, 83, 159, 324.
- Nītivākyāmṛta*, 47, 98, 217, 219, 222, 244, 247.
- Nitya Dharma*, a classification of *Dharma*, 78.
- Nṛ Yajña*, a sacrifice, 92.
- Nyāya Philosophy, 49, 100.
- Oghavati, a river, 313.
- Paine, 11,
- Pañca Mahā Yajña*, the five great sacrifices, 92.
- Pañcāla, a state, 19.
- Pañcatantra*, 35.
- Pāṇḍavas, 18-20, 23, 26-9, 127, 194, 202, 204, 206-7, 217-20, 224, 245, 249, 258-64, 267, 285, 290, 295, 298, 301-2, 308-14, 357.
- Pandey, 170.
- Pandey, R.B., 213.
- Pandoin, 214.
- Pāṇḍu, 18, 157.
- Pāṇini, 23, 28.
- Papal legates or Nuncios, 217.
- Papal State, 10.
- Paramavitana, S., 27, 69, 120.
- Paraśurāma, 265, 279.
- Pargiter, 26.
- Parikṣita, 21, 25, 129.
- Pārṣṇigrāha*, a member of the *Maṇḍala* (circle of states), 210.
- Pārṣṇigrāhasara*, a member of *Maṇḍal* (the circle of states), 210.
- Pasenadi, 179.
- Pāṭala, 127.
- Patañjali, 28, 99.
- Pavana, an ancient king, 144.
- Philip IV, 8.
- Pierre Dubois, 9.
- Pitr ṛṇa*, one of the three debts, 162.
- Pitr Yajña*, a sacrifice, 92, 162.
- Plato, 4-7, 14, 113.
- Platonic, 5, 113.
- Pondicherry, 51.
- Pope, 7, 10.
- Pope Boniface VIII, 8.
- Pope Clement V, 8.
- Porus, 214.
- Prabhu, P.N., 90.
- Prabhu Sakti*, a strength of kings, 233.

- Prācīnabarhi, an ancient king, 144.
 Pradhana, an officer of the *gaṇa* *rājyas*, 181.
 Prahlāda, 36, 83, 115.
 Prajā Pālana, kingly duties, 154.
 Prajā rañjan, kingly duties, 155.
 Prakāśa Yuddha, a kind of fighting, 242.
 Prakṛti, 100, 103, 140, 297, 350.
 Prastara Yuddha, a kind of fighting, 245.
 Pratardana, an ancient king, 144, 149, 298.
 Pratikāmī, 260.
 Pratīpa, an ancient king, 144.
 Pravarasena, the II, 248.
 Prince, the, 9.
 Prince Pallava of Kāncī, 215.
 Protestantism, 11.
 Pṛṣadhra, an ancient king, 144.
 Pṛthu, 109, 110, 144.
 Pṛttanā, an army unit, 277.
 Pulaha, 40.
 Pulastya, 40.
 Punjab, 184.
 Pura, 103, 213, 233, 351.
 Purāṇa, 15, 26, 31, 40.
 Puroga, 180.
 Purohita, 115, 164, 218, 223, 321.
 Purumitra, 145.
 Puruṣa, 100.
 Puruṣārtha, 50, 53, 70, 90, 114, 125, 350.
 Purūrava, 144.
 Puṣkara, 145-146.
 Puṣyamitra Śunga, 336, 338.
 Radhakrishnan, S., 73, 99-100.
 Raghavan, V., 74.
 Raghu, an ancient King, 144, 296.
 Raghuvamśa, 56, 119, 155, 296.
 Raivata, an ancient king, 144.
 Raivatak Mount, 178, 288.
 Rājā, derivation of, 36, 150, 180.
 Rājadharmā, a term for politics, 31, 37, 42, 44, 45, 72, 96, 348.
 Rājanīti, a term for politics, 31, 36-7, 348.
 Rājāsāstra, a term for politics, 31, 36, 348.
 Rājatarāṅgiṇī, 121.
 Rajgopalachari, 17.
 Rāma, an ancient king, 144, 218, 221, 253, 272, 276, 294.
 Rāmcandra, 53.
 Rāmāyaṇa, of Vālmiki, 15, 17, 35, 53, 58-9, 130, 172, 214, 218-9, 221, 266, 271, 273, 276, 285, 288, 291-2, 294-5.
 Rantideva, an ancient king, 144.
 Rao, N. J., 24.
 Rapson, 118.
 Rāṣṭra, a constituent of state, 233, 350.
 Rāṣṭra (rājya), 103.
 Rātri Yuddha, night fight, 246, 285.
 Rāvaṇa, 218, 221, 253, 272, 294.
 Raychowdhary, 338.
 Ray, P. C., 17, 33, 43, 77, 104, 139, 149, 165, 172, 204, 212, 224, 231-2, 234 333-5, 338-9, 342, 343.
 Reformation, the, 10-11.
 Renaissance, the, 8-9, 11.
 Republic, the, 5, 7.
 R̥gveda, 72, 88, 156, 221.
 Rockhills, 180.
 Rogers, 2.
 Rousseau, 11, 109.
 R̥ṣi R̥ṇa, a debt, 162.
 R̥ta 74.
 R̥tuparna, an ancient king, 146.

- Sabbāpāla*, an officer of the *gaṇa* states, 178, 181.
- Śacī, Indra's wife, 147.
- Sadācāra*, good conduct, a source of *Dharma*, 71, 75-6, 350.
- Śāḍgunya*, six expedients of policy 182, 192, 354.
- Sādhārāṇa Dharma*, a classification of *Dharma*, 78-79, 87.
- Sahadeo, a Pāṇḍava, 20, 65, 126, 277, 301, 309, 313, 357.
- Sāgara, an ancient king, 144.
- Śaibya, an ancient king, 144.
- Śakuni, 19, 138, 145, 258, 260, 273, 284, 314.
- Śakti, a sage, 115.
- Śaktis, king's strength, 233.
- Śākya, 184.
- Sākyans, 179-180.
- Śalva, 280, 283.
- Śalya, 145, 273, 286.
- Sāma*, a policy, 41, 200, 204-8, 233, 250, 259, 317, 329, 354.
- Sāmānya Dharma*, a classification of *Dharma*, 78, 350.
- Sīmśraya*, one of the six expedients (*śāḍgunyas*), 198, 354.
- Sanatkumāra, 37.
- Sandbi*, one of the six expedients (*śāḍgunyas*), 182, 192-3, 329, 354.
- Sanghamitrā, 215.
- Saṅgha Mukhya*, an officer, 178, 180.
- Śaṅkarācārya, 54.
- Samudragupta, 215.
- Saṅgha rājya*, a type of state, 353.
- Sankar K. G., 26.
- Śāṅkhāyana Śroutā Sūtra*, 28.
- Śāntanu, an ancient king, 144.
- Sanyāsāśrama*, a stage of life, 55, 90, 93-5, 163.
- Sarkar, B. K., 35, 37, 48, 75, 142.
- Saṅghas*, confederacy, 177, 179-81.
- Śamika, 129.
- Sañjaya, 218-9, 284, 333.
- Śaptāṅgas* (seven constituents of a state), 103, 105, 213.
- Sarsvati, 23, 39, 40.
- Śaryāti, 144.
- Śaśabindu, an ancient king, 144.
- Sastri, A. C., 291.
- Sastri, A. R., 291.
- Sastri, G. P., 46, 193, 217.
- Sastri, H. P., 257.
- Sastry, K. A. Nilkantha, 192.
- Sastry, Sunderlal, 47.
- Śatru*, 354. See also *Ari*.
- Satruñjaya, 251.
- Sāttvatas, 220.
- Satya* Age. 44, 70, 131.
- Sātyāki, 220, 277, 304, 313-4, 357.
- Satyavāna, an ancient king, 144.
- Saubha Nagar, 280.
- Śaunak, 23.
- Sauvīra, 251.
- Selucus Nikator, 215.
- Sen, A. K., 73, 119.
- Senāpati*, 181, 223, 336, 338.
- Setlur, S. S., 78.
- Shamasastri, R., 33-4, 62, 85, 105, 112-113, 127, 133, 142, 153, 158, 176, 178, 182, 185, 201, 205, 210, 215, 221, 227, 242, 244-5, 270, 273, 279.
- Sharma, R. S., 104-5, 116-117, 170.
- Śibi, 84, 115, 166, 167.
- Siddhanta, N. K., 25.
- Śikhāṇḍī, 216, 225, 265, 301-2, 314.
- Simhalese Jātaka, 69.
- Śikṣā*, a *vedāṅga*, 49.

- Sinha, H. N., 74, 175.
 Śisupāla, 273, 287, 301.
 Sircar, D. C., 46, 248-9.
 Sitā, 83, 294.
 Śiva, 39.
 Smith, Adam, 11.
Snātaka, 107.
 Socrates, 4.
 Soma, 166.
 Somadēna Sūri, 67, 98, 217, 222, 244, 247.
 Somaka, 220.
 Sorenson, 35.
 Sophists, 4.
 Spain, 9.
 Spellman, 111, 136.
Śrāddha, 92, 272, 274.
 Śrīdharvarmā, 248.
 Shrinivasacharya, L., 156, 268, 282.
 Śrñjaya, an ancient king, 144, 166.
 Śrngī, 129.
Śrotiyas, 327.
Śruti, 75-77.
 Śrutāyudha, 285.
Sthitaprajña, 81.
 Subandhu, 28.
 Subhadrā, 149, 178.
 Sudakṣiṇa, 273.
 Sudāsa, an ancient king, 144.
Sūdra, a *Varṇa*, 86, 88, 117, 281, 335, 337-41, 346, 351.
 Sugrīva, 221.
 Suhotra, an ancient king, 144, 166.
Subrd, allies, an element of state, 103, 233, 351.
 Sukhthankar, 17, 27, 72-3.
 Śukra, 15, 31, 34-6, 40, 59, 62, 67, 101-2, 108, 119, 121, 123, 131, 133, 136, 140-42, 148, 153-5, 158, 160, 165, 183, 193, 195-7, 199, 201-6, 214-6, 222-3, 228, 232, 234-5, 242, 261, 264, 267-8, 270, 275, 279, 281, 287, 289, 292, 296, 298, 317, 321, 325, 327, 336.
Sukra Nīlisāra, 50, 62, 85, 104, 161, 200, 202, 242, 257, 269, 349, 351. See also Śukra.
 Sunaḥśepa, 344.
 Sunda, 253.
 Śuṅga, 338.
 Sūrya, a god, 120-21.
 Sūryavamśī family, 128.
Svadharmā, specific duties, 108, 113, 122, 153-4, 161, 169, 241, 247, 316, 332, 339, 346.
Śreṇī Dharma, a classification of *Dharma*, 154.
Svāmī, sovereign, an element of state, 103, 213, 233, 350.
 Śveta, an ancient king, 144.
 Swami, P. Jagannadha, 258, 271.
 Syamantaka-Mani, 180.
Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, 110.
Taittiriya Saṁhitā, 72.
 Thakuri family, 127.
 Thomas, F. W., 61, 174.
 Tilak, B. G., 73, 87, 96, 99.
 Trasadasyu, an ancient king, 144.
Trayī, a branch of knowledge, 32, 47, 49, 349.
Tretā Yuga, 44, 98, 131, 342.
 Triṣira, 253.
Trivarga, threefold end of life, 42, 50-6, 60, 62, 63, 67-9, 72, 92, 114, 125, 349-50, 353.
Tuṣṇī Yuddha, a kind of fighting, 242-4.

- Udāsīna*, a member of *maṇḍala* (circle of states), 192, 197, 210, 212, 354.
Udbandhana, a policy, 233.
 Ujjain, 29.
 Ulūka, 218-9, 264.
 Upadhaya, Baldeva, 28.
Upaṇiṣads, 15, 16, 65.
Upa Rājā, a title, 181.
 Upasunda, an ancient king, 253.
Upāya, policy, 199, 203, 206, 329, 354.
Upekṣā, a policy, 233.
 Uśīnara, an ancient king, 143.
 Utathya, 150.
Utsāha Śakti, king's strength, 233.
 Uttamauijā, 304...
 Uttama Sandhi, a kind of treaty, 41.
 Uttara, 215, 273.
 Uśanasa, 48, 332.
 Vaggians (same as Vajjians), 188.
Vāhinī, an army unit, 277.
Vāhnikā, a character in the *Mbh.*, 273.
 Vaidya, C. V., 24, 33, 41, 191, 273, 278.
Vaiśalakesha, the abridged form of treatise, composed by Brahmā, 39.
 Vaiśālī, 183.
 Vaiśampāyana, 23.
 Vaiśeṣika, a Philosophy, 100.
Vaiśeṣika Sūtra, 98.
Vaiśya, a *varṇa* (class), 86, 88, 115, 117, 165, 281, 326-7, 335, 338-9, 346, 351, 340-2, 346, 351.
 Vaivasvata Manu, 112.
Vājasaneyi Samhitā, 72.
 Vajjians, same as Vaggiana, 187.
 Vājpai, 119, 171, 175, 227, 243.
 Vali, 257.
 Vālmiki, 21, 130, 287.
 Vāmadeva, 152, 344.
Vāṇprasthāśrama, a stage of life, 59, 90, 93-5.
 Varṇāvata, 258.
 Varma, Rāmacandra, 223.
 Varma, V. P., 61.
Varṇa, 43, 89, 97, 113-5, 117-8, 152, 161, 184, 241, 281, 293, 327, 332, 334-5, 337, 339, 346, 351.
Varṇa dharma, 72, 78, 86, 327, 332, 350.
Varṇa Saṁkara, mixture of *Varṇas*, 39, 107, 130, 151, 335.
Varṇāśrama dharma, 118, 143, 161-2, 353.
Varṣakāra, 187.
Vārtā, a branch of knowledge, 47, 49, 349.
 Varuṇa, a god, 121, 285.
 Vāsabha Khattiya, 179.
 Vasiṣṭha, 40, 147, 336.
Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, 76-7.
 Vasuhoma, 39, 152.
 Vasumanā, 130.
 Vātāpī, 253.
 Vāyu, a god, 237.
Vāyu Purāṇa, 46, 77.
Veda (Vedas), 15-6, 43-4, 68, 76, 82, 86-7, 92, 107, 152, 162, 327, 339.
Vedic, 43-4, 263, 337.
 Veṇa, 109, 146.
 Vicitra Vīrya, 18, 282.
 Vidura, 19, 35, 64, 68, 81, 87, 141, 145, 148, 247, 260-61, 332.
Vidyās, branches of knowledge, 48-9, 349.
 Vienna, congress of, 217.

- Vigraha*, one of the six expedients (*Ṣāḍgunya*), 182, 192, 195, 354.
Vijigīṣu, a member of *maṇḍala* (circle of states), 209-10, 212.
Vilāsavātī, 29.
Vinda, a king of Avanti, 126-7.
Vipracitti, 253.
Virocana, 254.
Virajasa, 109.
Virāṭa, 20, 173, 301.
Viryavāna, an ancient king, 144.
Viśālākṣa, 39.
Viśaprayoga, a policy, 233.
Viṣṇu, 29, 40, 109, 120-21, 349.
Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, 31, 35, 200, 245.
Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra, 103, 206, 351.
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 25, 34, 36, 49-50, 55, 57, 63, 107, 146, 155, 180, 283-4, 338, 349.
Viṣṇu Samhitā, 123.
Viṣṇu smṛti, 298-9.
Viśvāmitra, 144, 342-4.
Viṣṭis, carrier of load, 278.
Viswanatha, 118, 191, 193-4, 197, 218, 275.
Vivimśati, 273.
Vṛdhu, 344.
Vṛṣasen, 304.
Vṛṣṇis, 11, 172, 220.
Vṛṣadarbha, an ancient king, 147.
Vṛtra, 254.
Vṛtta, 83.
Vyāsa, 313.
Vṛtti, 40.
Vyākaraṇa, a *Vedāṅga*, 49.
Vyāsa, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, 15, 17-8, 22-3, 28.
Vyūha (array), 41.
 Webster, 1.
 Williams, Monier, 35, 171, 174.
 William, Stede, 38.
 Willoughby, 14.
 Winternitz, M., 17, 22, 27.
Yadava Saṅgha (confederacy), 179-80, 184, 288.
Yadavi Sudharma Sabbā, The Mote Hall, 179.
Yadu, an ancient king, 144.
Yajñasena, an ancient king, 127.
Yājñavalkya, 76, 78, 103, 110, 137, 204, 275, 336, 339, 341, 351.
Yājñavalkya Smṛti, 185.
Yajurveda, 27.
Yama, god of death, 120-21.
Yamunā (River), 299.
Yāna, one of the six expedients (*Ṣāḍgunya*), 182, 191, 196, 354.
Yauvanāśya, an ancient king, 144.
Yayāti, an ancient king, 139, 144, 149, 163, 166.
Yoga, a system of philosophy, 99.
Yudhiṣṭhira, 18-20, 33-4, 42, 53, 59, 64, 66-8, 85, 97-8, 117, 120, 143-5, 149, 157, 163, 165-9, 172, 185, 210-1, 218, 220, 247, 251-3, 255, 260, 266, 270, 276-7, 279, 286, 294-5, 297, 301, 305-6, 309, 311, 313-5, 332, 337-8, 357.
Yudhāmanyu, a character of the *Mbh.* 304.
Yuga Dharma, 78, 98, 350.
Yuyutsu, a character in the *Mbh.* 336.
 Zimmer, H., 210.

city.

our the C

